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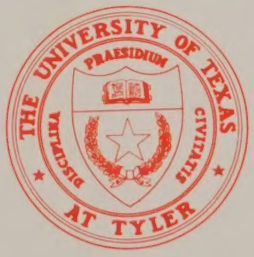

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The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College

Volume XXXV of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* is the eighth of this series to be subventioned by The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College, and is intended to serve as a memorial to Abraham and Emma Neumann, under the terms of the will of their son, Sidney Neumann of Philadelphia, who died at the age of seventy-nine on February 5, 1956.

Sidney Neumann was a modest, self-effacing son of the House of Israel. A life-long member of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia, he was a loyal and devoted friend to three generations of its rabbis. Inspired in childhood by the eloquence of the dynamic personality of a member of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College, Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, Sidney Neumann always felt a special bond of gratitude to the seminary whose graduates ministered to him and to his family. Although he never visited the College, he revered its meaning in his own life and in the life of American Jewry. A bachelor with no human ties beyond the friendship of a few devoted souls, he sought in his bequest to support those aspects of American Jewish life, both in Philadelphia and elsewhere, which best exemplified the ideals and aspirations of his teacher, Rabbi Krauskopf, and which harmonized with his own concept of that which is permanent and enduring.

In his will, therefore, Sidney Neumann bequeathed the fruits of a lifetime of hard work to the institutions which he respected and loved: the congregation to which he and his parents belonged, for the building and maintenance of a chapel; the National Agricultural College (founded as the National Farm School by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Philadelphia Home for the Jewish Aged; the Jewish Publication Society of America (co-founded by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Lucien Moss Home of Philadelphia; the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia; the Hebrew Union College and the American Jewish Archives — for scholarly publications. All these, in addition to some modest bequests to many other institutions and to a number of individuals.

It is noteworthy that these generous gifts were not meant to perpetuate his own name, other than through the recitation of Kaddish for him in the Keneseth Israel Temple and the Chapel of the Hebrew Union College; Sidney Neumann contributed these large sums so that an enduring memorial to his parents might be assured.

We, of the Hebrew Union College, therefore, take pride in saluting the spirit of Sidney Neumann with this volume of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* dedicated to the memory of his parents, Abraham and Emma Neumann. *Zekher ẓaddik livrakhah*: the memory of the righteous will be a blessing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Cultic Setting of the "Enthronement Psalms"
Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion 1

How Long Did Abram Stay in Egypt?
Ben Zion Wacholder, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati 43

Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job (Chapter V)
Harry M. Orlinsky, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, N. Y. 57

The Insertions in the Third Benediction of the Holy Day 'Amidoth
Leon J. Liebreich, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, N. Y. 79

A Rabbinic Defense of the Election of Israel
Eugene Mihaly, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati 103

An Introduction to *Sefer Ḥasidim*
Sholom A. Singer, Highland Park, Ill. 145

Reflections on the Text and Context of the Disputation of Barcelona
Martin A. Cohen, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, N. Y. 157

"Manner for Manner" in Dante
Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati 193

Abrabanel on Prophecy in the *Moreh Nebhukhim* (Chapter IV)
Alvin J. Reines, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati 213

Eibenschütziana (Die Zwei Ausgaben des *Toledoth bne Jehonathan* in ihrer Beziehung zu der Polemik um R. Jonathan Eibenschütz — Fortsetzung)
Bernhard Brilling, Münster, Germany 255

סדר הסימנים (חיבור קראי בדקדוק המסורה מתקופת משה בן אשר)
Nehemiah Allony, Jerusalem ..... א

THE CULTIC SETTING OF THE "ENTHRONEMENT PSALMS"

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

I

Introduction

SINCE the publication of Mowinckel's very significant and in no small measure revolutionizing *Psalmenstudien*,[1] the interpretation of many of the psalms by biblical scholars has changed radically. This is true especially of that category of psalms which he, very appropriately, entitles "Thronbesteigungspsalmen," "Enthronement Psalms." The central theme of these psalms is, as he shows clearly, the entrance of Yahweh into His sanctuary and His ascension of His throne therein in His role as King, not only of Israel, His immediate people, but also of the entire world and of all the nations and peoples therein, of whom He is the indisputable, supreme Ruler. Yahweh "comes up" or "ascends" to His sanctuary attended by a large throng of ardent worshipers in solemn but joyous procession. The center of the procession is held by the Ark as the visible symbol of Yahweh's actual presence and active participation in this important ceremony. This ceremony is celebrated upon the New Year's Day. It is hailed with infectious rejoicing, not only by Israel, but by all the nations, whose approved representatives are present upon this momentous occasion. It takes place in Jerusalem, in the temple there, now very properly recognized as the true center of the world. These psalms are all quite obviously universalistic in character and are likewise of definitely eschatological import. Such, in summary form, is Mowinckel's thesis of the "Enthronement Psalms."

This thesis has been widely accepted, at least in its broad outlines, by biblical scholars practically from the moment when it was first proposed. In particular it was endorsed wholeheartedly by Hermann Gunkel in his monumental commentary upon the psalms.[2]

[1] Pts. I–VI, 1922–23.

[2] Published in 1926 (p. 203), cf. also his *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (1928), 94–116.

Following Mowinckel, Gunkel too holds that the immediate background of these particular psalms is the sacred procession upon the New Year's Day, which escorted Yahweh into His temple and so paved the way for His throne-ascension.

But even though the thesis of the enthronement procession upon the New Year's Day be accepted in its broad outline, and the close relationship of these particular psalms to this obviously very important ritual act be granted, quite a few questions arise, questions of manifest importance. These questions must be answered, and several significant details of the procession rite must be fully and correctly understood, before the entire thesis can be accepted without doubt or reservation and be employed as a correct and proper starting point in the interpretation of these particular psalms and in the attendant reconstruction in detail of the history of the religion of ancient Israel and of the ritual thereof.

That the Ark played a positive role in this sacred procession seems to be conclusively evidenced by Ps. 132:8. But just what may that role have been? Was the Ark the symbol of Yahweh Himself and of His actual presence as a participant in the sacred procession, or rather as the main participant therein, preparing to enter, or to re-enter, His sanctuary? Or was the role of the Ark in the procession essentially that of the throne of Yahweh, the sacred throne upon which He sat in august majesty as the supreme King, the King not only of Israel but of the entire world, of all nations and of all mankind? If this latter was the role of the Ark in the festal procession, then it would imply that Yahweh was thought to be seated permanently upon the Ark and, thus enthroned, to be carried along in the procession upon the shoulders of his ardent and consecrated worshipers until, as the climax of the entire processional rite, the Ark could be returned to its normal place in the temple, the most sacred spot therein, the *d^ebîr* or Holy of Holies, at its far western end, where, still seated upon His throne, Yahweh would take or resume His normal and proper place as world King. And this would imply, in turn, that the temple was Yahweh's permanent dwelling place, His true abode, in which He was thought to be present constantly and where He could always be sought out and found by His loyal worshipers.

Furthermore, since unquestionably the Ark stood normally within the temple, the role which it played in the sacred procession, whichever of these alternative roles it may have been, implied that at a certain moment in the course of this obviously protracted procession rite the Ark must have been removed from its normal resting place

within the sanctuary and carried to whatever point it may have been from which the procession started, there to assume its proper place in the procession and thus to be escorted, solemnly and joyously, back to its normal resting place. And inasmuch as the latter ritual act, which obviously symbolized Yahweh's return to His sanctuary, certainly constituted the climactic act of the entire processional ceremony, and so must have been celebrated towards the close of the New Year festival, so correspondingly the removal of the Ark from its normal resting place in the temple must have been performed at or very near to the commencement of the festival, as one of the very first acts in the ritual celebration thereof.

And this implies, in turn, that, as Mowinckel has correctly surmised, this New Year festival must have extended over a period of several days, and that the concluding day of this festival period, the day upon which the climactic act of the entire festival ritual, the return of the Ark, and with it of Yahweh Himself, to His sanctuary, was performed, must have been the New Year's Day, the first day of the new year, this new period of Yahweh's beneficent, kingly rule over Israel and all mankind. This inference Mowinckel draws and accepts, though not without some hesitation; and, conforming to the prevailing biblical system of calendation, he sets this New Year's Day, though with expression of considerable doubt of the correctness of this procedure, upon the first day of Tishri, the seventh month of the calendar, the traditional New Year's Day.[3]

Furthermore, Mowinckel assumes[4] that the place to which the Ark was brought, when it was removed from the temple at the very commencement of the festival, was some building in the western part of the city, Jerusalem, and that from this place a paved highway led up to the temple. Along this highway the sacred procession advanced, from its starting point, the building in the western part of the city, to its goal, the temple on Zion. And since the road led steadily upward, from its starting point in the western and lower part of the city to the temple high above it, it was known not only as *m^{e}sillah*, "highroad," but also as *ma'^{a}lah*, "ascent," or even as *hama'^{a}lôt*, "the steps, the ascent." Accordingly the verb, *'alah*, is used,[5] so Mowinckel maintains, to describe the march of the ritual procession along the sacred, steadily ascending highway and its entry into the temple. With this interpretation of the term, *'alah*, as used in these psalms, obviously used in a somewhat conventional sense in connection with

[3] *Psalmenstudien* II, 83–89.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 129.
[5] Ps. 24:3; 47:6.

this sacred procession, and particularly with the initial assumptions thereof, we must, very regretfully, disagree, as we shall see.

Also Mowinckel finds in these "Enthronement Psalms" very positive and oft-repeated allusions to the annual harvest, allusions which seem to him very plainly to envisage the harvest festival, the Festival of *Sukkôt* or Booths. According to the standardized biblical calendar this festival commenced upon the full moon day, i. e., the 15th of Tishri, and continued for seven days.[6] But the New Year's Day of this calendar fell upon the 1st of Tishri.[7] Accordingly fourteen days intervened between the two festivals. And yet the references in these psalms to the harvest and the harvest festival imply seemingly a close connection between the two festivals, in fact a connection so close that the two, New Year's Day and harvest festival, seem to have been one, to have together constituted one single festival. This conclusion is supported by the altogether reasonable assumption that the entire festival, which commenced apparently with the removal of the Ark from the temple, and which culminated in the return of the Ark to its regular place in the temple upon the New Year's Day, certainly endured for more than a single day. Accordingly Mowinckel suggests that at one time in the religious practice of Israel the two festivals must have been celebrated as one single festival, and therefore much closer to each other than this official dating, according to the standardized biblical calendar suggests. He finds support for this conclusion in the fact that Ezek. 40:1 speaks of the New Year's Day as coming upon the 10th of a certain, nameless month, which he assumes to be Tishri,[8] and this regardless of the somewhat disturbing fact that in the dominant biblical calendar, which he tacitly assumes was in use in Israel throughout the entire

[6] Lev. 23:33–43; Num. 29:12 ff.; Ezek. 45:25.

[7] Lev. 23:23–25; Num. 29:1–6.

[8] Lev. 25:9 does specify that this is the seventh month, which would, of course, in this particular biblical calendar be Tishri. This v. obviously contemplates the New Year's Day, and not the Day of Atonement, despite the specific statement to that effect, for certainly the Sabbatical Year would not have been officially proclaimed upon the tenth day after the year had actually commenced. Moreover, the blowing of the *šôfar* upon this day, plainly in order to herald, in the conventional manner, the commencement of a new year, evidences convincingly that this day, VII 10, must have been the New Year's Day. Accordingly, in order to recover the original reading of the v., omit from the present text as a late gloss ביום הכפורים תעבירו שופר, inserted by some P2 redactor after the lunar calendar had been officially adopted and the New Year's Day had been shifted to VII 1, while VII 10 continued to be observed as a day of supreme sanctity, the Day of Atonement: cf. Morgenstern, "Two Prophecies from the Fourth Century B. C. and the Evolution of Yom Kippur," *HUCA* XXIV (1952–53), 1–74.

biblical period, the 10th of Tishri was observed as *Yôm Kippûr*, "the Day of Atonement," in many respects the holiest day of the year.[9] This pre-eminently sacred day fell accordingly between the New Year's Day and *Sukkôt*, the harvest festival; and certainly its incidence at just this moment in the year would preclude the assumed amalgamation in any manner or degree of those two festivals under the conditions of this particular calendar. But despite this extremely troublesome circumstance, Mowinckel, under the compulsion of these "Enthronement Psalms," assumes that there must have been some period in Israel's history when a close time connection between, and consequent joint celebration of, these two festivals did exist, and that this circumstance provides the historic setting of these psalms. This matter too we shall consider in its proper place.

Moreover, the king, the earthly king, participated in the sacred procession and apparently in some specific and active role. Just what may this role have been? Mowinckel calls attention[10] very properly to the role of the Babylonian king, who enacted the part of Marduk, the supreme national deity of Babylonia, in the sacred procession of the Babylonian New Year Festival. Can it be that the king of Judah played a similar role, that he enacted, in some degree at least, the part of Yahweh in the sacred procession of the Judaean New Year's Day ritual? If so, it would, of course, seem to follow necessarily that the New Year's Day must have been celebrated in this particular manner in the pre-Exilic period, when the kingship was still an active institution in Judah, and that accordingly this sacred procession upon the New Year's Day was a pre-Exilic ceremony. So, very properly, Mowinckel assumes. This question too we shall consider in its proper place.

II

The Calendar Basic to the "Enthronement Psalms"

In a rather lengthy series of studies, begun in 1924, i. e., three years after the appearance of Mowinckel's *Psalmenstudien* II, I have endeavored to formulate the history of the calendar in Israel in biblical times.[11] I have shown, and, I believe, quite conclusively, that in the

[9] Lev. 23:26–32.

[10] *Op. cit.*, 32. In addition to the references there cited mention should be made likewise of Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* (1921), 127–154.

[11] To name the most important of these studies: "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA* I (1924), 13–78; "Additional Notes on the Three Calen-

course of Israel's history during the approximately one thousand years long biblical period a number of different calendars were employed, and that each, in turn, served as the official calendar of the Jewish nation and people. Speaking broadly, these calendars were of three distinct types.

The oldest was the so-called pentecontad calendar, first discovered by Prof. Julius and Dr. Hildegard Lewy.[12] This was a strictly agricultural calendar, of West Semitic origin, which divided the year into seven periods of fifty days each, corresponding to the various stages in the annual growth of the crop, plus two additional festival periods, one of seven and the other of eight days duration. Not at all unnaturally, this calendar continued to be employed for local use in conservative, farming sections of the country long after other, later calendars had superseded it officially. A few elements of this ancient, Canaanite calendar are preserved still today as cherished folk-institutions by some of the natives of Palestine, especially those in the rural sections of the country.

Beginning already under David but reaching the climax of this development under Solomon, Israel was quickly transformed, in response to a new national, administrative policy and taking advantage of the international conditions of the times, from a rather loose federation, or amphictyony, as it has come to be called by leading biblical scholars to-day, of separate and mutually independent tribes into a political empire. Relations, political, cultural and commercial, with other nations and peoples expanded steadily. Israel's international contacts became practically world-wide. For this situation, it became evident in time, the old, pentecontad calendar, decidedly local in character, dependent upon the state of the crop in its varying stages in different sections of the country, no longer sufficed. A calendar uniform for world-wide use was indispensable. Accordingly Solomon adopted and made official for Israel the solar calendar, which had, probably only a short time earlier and in re-

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dars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA* III (1926), 77–107; "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA* X (1935), 1–148; "The New Year for Kings," *Gaster Anniversary Volume* (1936), 439–56; "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel" II, *HUCA* XXI (1948), 365–496; "The Reckoning of the Day in the Gospels and Acts," *Crozer Quarterly* XXVI (1948), 232–40; "Two Prophecies from the Fourth Century B. C. and the Evolution of Yom Kippur," *HUCA* XXIV (1952–3), 1–74; "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees," *VT* V (1955), 34–76.

[12] "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA* XVII (1942–43), 1–153.

sponse to the same need for a uniform system of time reckoning effective for all parts of the world, become officially current in Tyre, Israel's neighbor and then close ally, at that time likewise evolving rapidly into a true, world-wide, commercial empire. This calendar continued in official use, at least in Judah, though apparently not in Israel, the Northern Kingdom, with but occasional and relatively brief interruptions, down until the last quarter of the fifth century B. C., a period of slightly more than five hundred years.

But a calendar is more than a mere system of time reckoning. It is essentially a religious institution. One of its major functions is to determine the proper moments in the year for the observance of the different festivals; and these festivals are, in turn, closely associated with the god or gods of that religion and their various functions in regulating the lives and destinies of their human worshipers, both as individuals and as nations. A solar calendar implies, for a people still living upon a fairly early plane of civilization, that the sun, conceived of as a divine being, is its supreme god. In Babylonia Marduk, a true sun-god, was the supreme national deity.[13] In Tyre the composite deity, Ba'al Shamem-Melcarth, played this same role.[14]

Under the influence of his close ally, Hiram of Tyre, Solomon borrowed much of this Tyrian solar religion for his own nation, Israel. He adopted the Tyrian solar calendar and with it various elements of the Tyrian religious theory and practice. He transformed Yahweh, Israel's old, national god, a deity in very large measure of distinctly nomadic, pastoral origin, into a solar deity, patterned very largely, though apparently not completely, after the Tyrian Ba'al Shamem-Melcarth. And he erected, in honor of this transformed, solar Yahweh, an altogether new and magnificent sanctuary, patterned directly in all essential details after the temple of Melcarth in Tyre.[15] And with this the earlier, agricultural, pentecontad calendar was officially displaced, at least in Jerusalem, the capital of the Israelite Empire, and in other important commercial centers in the land by this new, solar calendar, and a new series of religious festivals, altogether solar in character, all centering of course in the new temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, was inaugurated. Of all this more shortly.

But after slightly more than five hundred years, largely as the climax of a long period of prophetic activity and also, in equally

[13] Zimmern, in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903), 370–96.

[14] Morgenstern, "The King-god among the Western Semites and the Meaning of Epiphanes," *VT* X (1960), 138–76.

[15] Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, 176–97.

large measure, as an important part of the program of Ezra and his Jewish fellow refugees, returning from Babylonia at about the middle of the fifth century B. C., a far-reaching religious reformation was inaugurated in the Jewish community of Palestine. A new temple was erected by Ezra to replace the short-lived second temple, destroyed by the ruthless enemies of Judah in 485 B. C.[16] In the official cult of this new temple an earnest and systematic attempt was made to eradicate from the approved worship of Yahweh all elements of solar religion. And inasmuch as these manifested themselves for the most part in connection with the solar festivals, a new calendar, distinctly non-solar in its primary character, was an imperative necessity. Accordingly a new calendar, essentially luni-solar in character and patterned in considerable measure after the contemporary Babylonian calendar and employing the Babylonian month-names, was formally adopted, apparently at some time within the last quarter of the fifth century B. C.[17] With but relatively few minor modifications, this has been the official calendar of Judaism ever since. It was in this calendar, and only in it, that the New Year's Day was set upon the 1st of Tishri, the seventh month, *Yôm Kippûr*, the Day of Atonement, upon the 10th of that month, and *Sukkôt*, the harvest festival, upon the 14th-20th, and eventually the 21st, of that month. To attempt to correlate the "Enthronement Psalms" in any way with the New Year's Day and the harvest festival of this latest calendar would create an insoluble problem, as Mowinckel correctly perceived. Moreover, such correlation would compel the conclusion that all these psalms must be later than the moment of the introduction of this calendar, i. e., than the last quarter of the fifth century B. C., a conclusion certainly not tenable. Furthermore, during this period there was no king in Judah who might play the part in the festival ritual of the sacred procession which, so Mowinckel has correctly established, was performed by this royal personage. Clearly then the New Year's Day of these "Enthronement Psalms" was not the 1st of Tishri, the New Year's Day of this relatively late, third calendar.

Could it then have been the New Year's Day of the second calendar, the solar calendar, in official use in Judah from shortly before the middle of the tenth century B. C. to some time within the final quarter of the fifth century B. C.? This question requires thorough investigation, for, as we shall see, the answer to it will be a decided

[16] Morgenstern, "Jerusalem — 485 B. C.," *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 101–79; XXVIII (1957), 15–47; XXXI (1960), 1–29.

[17] Cf. Morgenstern, "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel," II, *HUCA* XXI (1948), 365–496.

affirmative and will carry with it far-reaching implications for the correct interpretation of these "Enthronement Psalms" and for the formulation of the history of the religion of Israel during this long and momentous period.

As has been said, the temple of Yahweh, the national god of Israel, which Solomon erected in Jerusalem, the national capital, shortly before the middle of the tenth century B. C., was patterned directly after the temple of Melcarth in Tyre, which had been erected by Hiram, the close ally of both David and Solomon, only a relatively few years earlier as a part of his program of reformation of the Tyrian national religion.[18] This Tyrian temple was situated upon an elevated spot on the eastern side of the city and faced due east. Hiram set the New Year's Day of the Tyrian solar calendar, which he inaugurated, apparently and for good reason upon the day of the vernal equinox. At sunrise of this day Melcarth, the youthful, vigorous, creative form of the national, composite, double-phased sun-god, Ba'al Shamem-Melcarth, was thought to undergo resurrection, to emerge from the nether world, in which, during the winter period of the year, he had lain, imprisoned by the god thereof, Môt, She'ôl, or however he may have been called by the Tyrians. He was thought to rise therefrom in radiant light, and then, revealing himself in the first rays of the rising sun of this New Year's Day, to return to his people and to enter the court of his temple within the city, to pass on, still in fiery, radiant form, over the temple court, and then onward between the two sacred pillars at the entrance of the temple building proper, and down the long axis thereof to the divine throne at its far western end. This throne the god would ascend, still in radiant form, and seat himself thereon as the king, the supreme ruler of his Tyrian nation. Unquestionably the god, in his march from the place of his resurrection and emergence from the nether world back to his people, his city, his sanctuary and his throne, must have been attended by a procession of ardent devotees. Undoubtedly this procession grew in numbers and in ardor as it steadily drew nearer and ever nearer to its goal, the temple within the city and the throne of the god therein. There is ample evidence that the king of Tyre participated in this sacred procession and in it enacted the role of the god and even embodied the god in his own person. And all this upon the day of the vernal equinox, the Tyrian New Year's Day.

Now, as has been said, the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, of

[18] Morgenstern, "The King-god, etc.," 138 ff.

Yahweh transformed, at least in very considerable degree, into a solar deity, erected by Solomon, was patterned directly and in all essential details after this temple of Melcarth in Tyre. It too stood upon a highly elevated spot, the Temple Mount. It too faced due east, towards the place of sunrise upon the two annual equinoctial days. The precise location of that place was the summit of the Mount of Olives.[19] Of this we shall hear more later. This temple was erected very largely by Tyrian labor and out of material imported in large measure from Tyre.[20] The courtyard of the temple was on its eastern side. Therein, just a short distance in front of the entrance to the temple building proper, stood the main altar. The door of the temple building was in its eastern façade. There, on each side of the entrance, stood the two pillars, *Yakîn* and *Bô'az*, fashioned by a man of mixed Tyrian and Israelite parentage,[21] and undoubtedly modelled directly after, and playing the same role as, the two sacred pillars in the temple of Melcarth at Tyre.[22] The main gates or entrances of the temple, that leading from outside the temple precincts into the lower, outer court, that leading from this to the upper, the main, court, and that leading from this court, between the two pillars, into the temple building proper, all faced due east on the direct line from the place of sunrise on the two equinoctial days, the summit of the Mount of Olives, to the *d'bîr* at the western end of the sanctuary structure.[23]

As has been said, the solar calendar inaugurated by Solomon was patterned directly after the Tyrian solar calendar, but with one significant difference. Solomon set the New Year's Day of his solar calendar upon the day of the fall equinox, whereas, as has already been stated, Hiram apparently set his New Year's Day upon the day of the spring equinox. Just what considerations may have influenced Solomon in departing in this one respect from his Tyrian calendar pattern, we do not know. Furthermore, Solomon shifted the celebration of the ancient, seven-days *'Asîf* Festival, the Festival of Ingathering, the festival which marked the close of the harvest season in the older, pentecontad calendar, from the time when it was observed in that calendar, at the end of the fourth pentecontad, or fifty-days period, of the year, at some moment fairly late in what would be our month of October, by moving it up some three or four

[19] Cf. Hollis, in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 92 ff.; Gaster, T. H., *Thespis* I, 41.

[20] I Kings 5:16–32.

[21] I Kings 7:13–22.

[22] Morgenstern, "The King-god, etc.," 149.

[23] Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," *HUCA* VI (1929), 1–37.

weeks and setting it upon the seven days immediately preceding the New Year's Day, consequently upon the final seven days of the outgoing solar year.[24] Manifestly this festival thus brought the old year to a formal and impressive close and served likewise as the seven-days period or festival of preparation for the momentous New Year's Day.[25] Thus the harvest festival and the New Year's Day came to be fused into one single festival of primary importance, precisely as Mowinckel inferred from his consideration of the "Enthronement Psalms," a festival of eight days duration. Accordingly the religious setting of these psalms seems to be the celebration of this New Year Festival of the solar calendar, current in Jerusalem, as has been said, from the time of the erection of the Temple by Solomon shortly before the middle of the tenth century B. C., to the destruction of the second temple in 485 B. C. Accordingly these "Enthronement Psalms" must certainly be the product of this period.

As has likewise already been said, both the temple of Melcarth at Tyre and the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, erected by Solomon and patterned directly after that of Melcarth at Tyre, were true solar sanctuaries in every respect, and particularly in that each faced due east towards the place of sunrise upon the two equinoctial days, one of which was observed as the New Year's Day. In the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, and presumably therefore also in that of Melcarth in Tyre, the coming of the first rays of the rising sun in through the open eastern gate, on into the temple building proper and down the long axis of this building into the sacred recess at its far western end, where stood the throne of the deity, was the primary and, in many respects, the major rite of the entire New Year's Day ritual.[26] These first rays of the rising sun, especially upon the equinoctial New Year's Day, were known in the ritual language of the Jeru-

[24] Accordingly this festival must have been celebrated during the last seven days of the month 'Etanim (cf. I Kings 8:2), which, in turn, must have been the twelfth and final month of the year of the solar calendar (contrary to *Targum Jonathan* to I Kings 8:2, which designates it as the first month), while the New Year's Day must have been celebrated upon the first day of the month Bul (cf. I Kings 6:38), which must have been the first month in the year of the solar calendar. In the system of time-reckoning of the third, the luni-solar, calendar, official in Israel from the close of the fifth century B. C. on, these days corresponded to the 3rd–9th of the seventh month, Tishri, for the harvest festival (cf. Morgenstern, "The Three Calendars, etc.," 22–28) and the 10th of the same month for the New Year's Day. Together these eight days, the last seven days of the old year plus the first day of the new year, constituted a single festival, the New Year Festival, naturally the most important festival of this solar calendar.

[25] Cf. Morgenstern, "The Three Calendars, etc.," 22–58.

[26] For this entire matter cf. Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness".

salem temple, as the *kᵉbôd Yahweh*, "the radiance of Yahweh."[27] They were the manifestation in visible form of Yahweh Himself, and evidenced concretely His actual entrance into His sanctuary. Ezek. 40:1; 43:1–7; 44:1 f. tell of the coming of this "radiance of Yahweh" upon the New Year's Day, here dated however, by what is quite obviously an editorial interpolation, according to the system of reckoning the months of the latest, the luni-solar, calendar, on the 10th of the month, i. e., unquestionably the seventh month. It comes from the east, and, as it advances, the earth is lit up *mikkᵉbôdô*, "from its radiance." It enters the temple through the eastern gate thereof, open for this moment of supreme significance.

In Isa. 6 the prophet records his vision of Yahweh in the temple. He beholds Him seated, manifestly in radiant, light-emitting form, clad in a wondrous robe, upon a lofty throne.[28] He is surrounded and attended by winged creatures, as their name, *sᵉrafîm*, "flames," implies, fiery, gleaming divine beings. The light, the *kabôd*, radiating from His presence, fills the entire universe. Apparently He and His heavenly attendants have entered the temple through the doorway only a short time previously, for the threshold is still quaking. Unquestionably the implication is that they have come and have entered the sanctuary in solemn procession, the center of which is Yahweh Himself. And when the prophet beholds Him, He has apparently been judging His people, Judah, and has passed upon them a sentence of punishment, and even of doom, for, in answer to the Deity's question, "Whom shall I send? (to announce this unhappy decree)," the prophet responds promptly and obviously with a sense of self-consecration, "Here am I; send me." There can be no question that this entire incident transpired upon the New Year's Day, the New Year's Day of the solar calendar in official use in Judah in Isaiah's day. And obviously one of the procedures of the ritual of this all-important festal day, in fact the most important ritual procedure of the day, was the coming of Yahweh in solemn procession, attended by His heavenly host, into the temple, coming in radiant form and clothed in a resplendent robe,[28a] coming undoubtedly from the east, and entering the temple through its eastern gate, the ascension by Him of His sacred throne therein, and His then proceeding

[27] Morgenstern, "Biblical Theophanies," *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie* XXV (1911), 139–93; XXVIII (1913), 15–60.

[28] Undoubtedly a throne enveloped in brilliant light, emanating from the divine presence, therefore in truth a *kisse' kabôd*, "a radiant throne"; cf. I Sam. 2:8; Jer. 14:21; 17:12.

[28a] Cf. Morgenstern, "The King-god, etc.," 157.

to judge His people and fix its destiny for the new year now beginning. Certainly the picture of Yahweh in all this ritual procedure is that of a typical solar deity. And as such, and particularly in the ritual of the New Year's Day as practiced in the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem, Yahweh had very close affinities, not only with Melcarth, the Tyrian national deity, but also with Marduk, the supreme god of the Babylonian pantheon, likewise a god of the sun in its annual course.[29]

In the ritual of the third temple in Jerusalem, erected by Ezra at about 450 B. C., and despite the reforming efforts of Ezra and his followers to root out as completely as possible all solar elements from the religious practice of Israel, the eastern gate of the temple continued to play a very important role, decidedly reminiscent of that which it had played in the first two temples.[30] In this connection one particular ceremony is of particular significance for this study. As has already been said, in the luni-solar calendar, which was officially adopted in large measure in order to regulate the ritual practice of the third temple and to eradicate as completely as possible all solar elements therefrom, the New Year's Day was shifted to the 1st of the seventh month, Tishri, a day which had only lunar import but no solar significance whatsoever. But very plainly the memory was deep-rooted and persistent that the 10th of this seventh month of this latest calendar, had formerly, in the terms of the older, solar calendar, been a day of especial sanctity, celebrated by rites and ceremonies of unusual character. Eventually this day, the 10th of the seventh month of the luni-solar calendar, came to be officially sanctioned and observed as *Yôm Hakippûrîm*, "the Day of Atonement," and ultimately, and that quite speedily, became the day of supreme sanctity of the entire annual religious calendar.[31]

Still in Jewish religious practice today the ritual observance of this festival continues throughout the entire day until sunset marks the end of that day and the commencement of the next day. Then the observance of the sacred day naturally terminates. The concluding section of the ritual of this day, immediately preceding sunset, is known as *Nᵉ'îlah*, "Closing," i. e., the Closing of the Gate. Nowhere in the liturgy of the day is there any clear suggestion as to what gate this may have been. But rabbinic literature preserves distinct reminiscences, which tell us that this was the outer eastern gate of

[29] Cf. Zimmern, "Das Babylonische Neujahrsfest," in *Der Alte Orient* XXV, 3 (1926); Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*.

[30] Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness."

[31] Morgenstern, "Two Prophecies from the Fourth Century B. C., etc."

the Jerusalem temple. All through the year this gate, or rather this double gate, was kept tightly closed. But shortly before dawn of the autumnal equinoctial day, the New Year's Day of the solar calendar of Solomon, this eastern gate was solemnly opened, with the act attended by proper and impressive ritual, of the details of which, however, we know very little, in order to permit the first rays of the rising sun to shine in through it. First they shone into the outer eastern court, where they were brightly reflected from the eastern façade of the temple building. Then, as the sun rose higher and higher, these rays of light moved onward, through the upper court, over the altar standing therein, and then further onward through the open door of the temple building proper, between the two sacred pillars on either side of the doorway, and still further onward until they reached the Holy of Holies at the far western end of the sanctuary, where stood the Ark, Yahweh's throne, upon which He was thought to sit as divine King of the universe throughout all of time. Through the entire sacred day this eastern gate of the temple was kept open wide, only, however, to be closed, with proper ceremony, at sunset of the sacred day.

Unquestionably this linking of the ritual of this Day of Atonement, eventually the most sacred day of this latest, luni-solar calendar, and of the cult of the third temple with the ceremony of the opening and closing of the eastern gate thereof is decidedly reminiscent of this same ceremony as it was actually and meaningfully performed upon the fall equinoctial New Year's Day of the earlier solar calendar. Plainly in this entire ceremony, and therefore in the ritual of both the first and the second temples, Yahweh was conceived of as essentially a solar god, the deification of the sun in its annual course. And not a few of the cult elements of His worship in this capacity persisted, it is clear, in the ritual of the third temple, and have even persisted in the ritual practice of synagogal Judaism, and particularly in the ritual of *Yôm Kippûr*, the most sacred day of the Jewish religious year, down to the present day.

III

The Role of the Mount of Olives in the Ritual of the New Year Festival

As has been said, Yahweh was conceived as coming, in the form of the *k^ebôd Yahweh*, "the radiance of Yahweh," into the temple upon the ancient solar New Year's Day through the open eastern gate,

as coming therefore from the east, coming with the steadily advancing sunlight. But from just where in the east was He thought to come? We have suggested that it was from the top of the Mount of Olives, the place of sunrise, in relation to the temple, upon the two equinoctial days of the year. Have we any proof of this?

In the first place it is interesting, and even significant, to note that Ezekiel beholds Yahweh depart from the temple.[32] He goes forth through the eastern gate, impliedly the same gate as that through which He had entered the temple. His form upon this occasion is still that of the *kᶜbôd Yahweh*, seated enthroned upon the cherubim, who bear Him along in their flight. He departs from the temple through its eastern gate and goes to the mountain which is east of the city, i. e., the Mount of Olives. This suggests that it was from this spot He had set forth upon the processional journey to the temple which preceded His presence therein.

In II Sam. 15 we read of the inauguration by Absalom of his active program to make himself king of Israel in place of his father, David. David had grown old, but he gave no indication of soon withdrawing from active life, either by death or by relinquishing the kingship. And manifestly the ambitious Absalom, grown tired of waiting, determined to take matters into his own hands and to remove David from the scene. First he labored, by questionable methods but apparently with considerable success, to turn the loyalty and support of the northern tribes away from David to himself.[33] Then, as the moment for decisive action drew near, he persuaded David, through deceit, to permit him to go to Hebron, the center of the tribe of Judah, his own native tribe. His purpose in this was, quite patently, to turn the allegiance and support of Judah away from his aging father to himself. And this he had to do, of course, without arousing David's suspicions or giving him the slightest intimation of what his, Absalom's, real purpose and program were.

Then, at what he thought was just the proper moment, he sent out messengers through all the tribes of Israel to herald this word, "When ye hear the sound of the *šôfar*, then ye shall say (to one another), 'Absalom has become king in Hebron.' "[34] These words are meaningful indeed. The primary purpose of the blowing of the *šôfar* was not at all to herald the succession of a new king to the royal office in Israel. Rather the blowing of the *šôfar* announced in first

[32] Ezek. 10:18–22; 11:22 f.
[33] II Sam. 15:1–6; cf. also 19:41–20:2.
[34] II Sam. 15:10.

degree the advent of the New Year's Day and the official commencement of a new year for Israel.[35] Only incidentally did it mark the throne-ascension of a new king, in that it was upon the New Year's Day that the king formally ascended the throne and assumed sovereignty, and the first official year of his reign formally commenced.[36] Manifestly then the New Year's Day was narrowly impending.

And that this is the correct interpretation of Absalom's procedure is borne out by David's conduct in response thereto. There is ample evidence that David had learned in some way and in good time of Absalom's plot against him. But he realized also that, for the moment at least, the sympathy and support of the people, apparently including even the population of Jerusalem, were with Absalom. Therefore he had to act with extreme circumspection. His one chance of escape from the danger which threatened him lay in effecting in some way his departure from Jerusalem without immediately arousing the suspicions of Absalom and his supporters, and then managing somehow to cross the Jordan and there join Joab and the army, then campaigning in that region, upon whose loyal support he felt certain he could rely. Accordingly David went forth from the city, in the direction of the Mount of Olives. He was accompanied by the Ark and by the priests, its bearers, under the supervision of Zadok, the chief-priest,[37] and by a large multitude of the people. Throughout the land the people, including impliedly those who were accompanying David, were weeping bitterly and wailing loudly.[38] Why were they weeping and wailing thus? Certainly it could not have been as an expression of their sorrow at the flight of their king in this manner before his rebellious son, for this would have implied clearly that the people at large, and with them of course David also, were fully aware of Absalom's plot, and this would have been, in turn, compelling reason

[35] Therefore Lev. 23:24 applies to the New Year's Day of the luni-solar calendar, upon the first of the seventh month, the title, "the memorial of the blowing (of the *šôfar*)." Note also that the *šôfar* was blown also upon the 10th of the seventh month, the New Year's Day of the older, solar calendar, to herald the advent of the Sabbatical year (Lev. 25:8 f.). Accordingly the blowing of the *šôfar* at the installation of Solomon as king, in succession to and at the command of his father, David (I Kings 1:34, 39), marked in first degree the commencement of the new year and only in second degree the exact moment of the retirement of David from the kingship and of the succession of Solomon thereto.

[36] Cf. "The Gates of Righteousness," 21, note.

[37] For this title, rather than "high-priest," applied to Zadok (cf. Morgenstern, "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," *AJSL* LV (1938), 1 24, 183 97, 360–77.

[38] II Sam. 15:23 ff.

for the supporters of Absalom, undoubtedly so charged by him, to seize David and put him out of the way immediately, a few days sooner than Absalom had planned for this. Also, were David fleeing before Absalom simply for self-protection, why should he have taken the Ark and its priests with him, for certainly this would have greatly slowed his flight and heightened his danger correspondingly? This is convincingly evidenced by the fact that, arrived at a certain spot some distance from the city, sufficient apparently to ensure his safety, David sent the Ark and its priests back to the city and to its sanctuary there. Again, why all this procedure with the Ark; why did David take it with him in the first place?

Having dismissed the Ark and its priestly bearers, and no doubt with it a considerable section of the throng who were following him, David, still attended by some of the people, presumably in the main those who were more or less informed as to the situation and who were devotedly loyal to their king, crossed the Valley of Jehosaphat and the Kidron Brook, which flows through it, and began to ascend the Mount of Olives. His head was covered, though not by the normal headgear, but was apparently enshrouded in a cloth, a regular sign of extreme mourning.[39] Moreover, his feet were bare and he was wailing, as were likewise the people who were following him, and whose heads too were enshrouded in the same manner as was his. Manifestly they were all grieving and mourning, and this too in formal, ceremonial manner. Unquestionably these were ceremonies of mourning for some one dead, some one of national significance, in the mourning for whom the king took the leading part. Who could this have been?

As we have shown, the New Year's Day was narrowly impending. Undoubtedly too in the reign of David this festival was celebrated over a period of days and culminated in the New Year's Day itself upon the first day of the new year, the day of the solemn blowing of the *šôfar* and also, as we have intimated, of the ceremonial ascension or reascension of the throne by the king. Unquestionably then this entire procedure of David and of the people in immediate attendance upon him, the departure from Jerusalem and the ascent of the Mount of Olives with expressions of deepest mourning, was a regular part of the ritual of the early portion of this festival. And, as we shall soon see, the entire New Year festival celebration extended over a period of eight days in David's time, just as it did in the time of Solomon and his successors, even though celebrated then, as we shall learn also, at a different season of the year. And it is a

[39] Cf. Jer. 14:3 f.; Esther 6:12.

further reasonable assumption that these rites of mourning were observed upon the very first day of the festival period and marked its formal ritual commencement. Therefore it was upon the very first day of this eight-days New Year festival, seven full days before Absalom had planned to bring his conspiracy to a head by having his father slain and assuming the kingship in his stead, that David made his exit in this manner from Jerusalem.

Plainly then David was, ostensibly at least, carrying out the ritual of this all-important, annual festival in its normal manner. This procedure on his part was designed to suggest to Absalom that he, David, had no suspicion whatever of the plot which was brewing against him, and that therefore he, Absalom, need not hurry his program, but could persist in his original purpose and plan of bringing his rebellion against his father to a head upon the New Year's Day itself, seven days later. Moreover, participation in this manner in what was the normal ritual of this festival gave David the opportunity to make his exit from Jerusalem without hindrance and also to advance eastward as far as the summit of the Mount of Olives, therefore well on his way to the Jordan, without exciting the suspicions of Absalom and his followers.

Moreover, recognizing now that we are dealing with the celebration of the New Year festival, we perceive that already in the time of David the king played the central role in the ritual of the festival, and also that the Ark too played some part therein, though apparently not a part of primary importance, since, so it seems, it could be sent back to the city and to its sanctuary there after accompanying the king only a relatively short distance from the city, without interfering substantially with the essential festival ritual or arousing the suspicions of any one that, for some cogent reason, this ritual was upon this occasion not being performed in its normal and proper manner.

David and those accompanying him ascended the Mount of Olives to its very summit, to the place where "one would customarily prostrate himself to the god."[40] Immediately the question arises, what god was this? I Kings 11:7 and II Kings 23:13 tell that Solomon erected upon the Mount of Olives to the east of Jerusalem shrines to Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians, Kemosh, the god of the Moabites, and Milkom, the god of the Ammonites. Certainly then in the days of David these shrines were not yet there nor could these foreign gods have then been worshiped at that place. Yet the fact

[40] II Sam. 15:30, 32.

that Solomon did erect these sanctuaries there suggests strongly that from still earlier times this spot, the summit of the Mount of Olives, was sacred to some god, even as II Sam. 15:32 affirms, and that, moreover, this god was not Yahweh. Furthermore, the secondary name of this mountain, the name which is used in II Kings 23:13 in the account of Solomon's erecting the three sanctuaries there, *Har Hamašḥît*, "The Mountain of the Destroyer," suggests very strongly that the god who was worshiped there in David's day, the god to whom from still earlier times this mountain had, in the local folklore and religious practice of Jerusalem, been sacred, and the approved place of worship of whom was from of old located upon the summit of this mountain, was this very *Hamašḥît*, "The Destroyer," the god of death and the netherworld, apparently the local Jerusalem form of the West Semitic god, *Môt*, "Death."[41]

This assumption finds strong corroboration in one important consideration. Num. 19 records the legislation for the red heifer. This animal had to be red in color. It was sacrificed, not at the "Tent of Meeting," the regular place of sacrifice for Israel in the Mosaic legislation, but outside the camp. After the sprinkling by the sacrificing priest of the blood of the sacrificed animal seven times in the direction of the Tent of Meeting, the body was burned to ashes. Into the flame of the sacrificial fire, while the carcass of the animal was burning, pieces of cedar wood, of hyssop and of scarlet cord or cloth were cast. Both the sacrificing priest and the man who cared for the fire became ritually defiled through the performance of their respective duties and had to undergo strict rites of ritual purification before being permitted to return to the camp. After the animal had been completely burned, its ashes were carefully collected and were deposited in a place ritually clean but outside the camp. The person who collected and deposited these ashes in this place of their safekeeping likewise became ritually defiled by his contact with them and had to undergo the same rites of ritual purification as had the other, earlier participants in this ceremony. These ashes served a peculiar purpose indeed, one naturally of ritual character. If by any chance a person happened to touch a human corpse or any part

[41] In this connection the common, biblical by-name of the nether world, a synonym of Sheol, *Šaḥat* (Jon. 2:7; Ps. 16:10; 30:10; 55:24; 103:4; Job 33:18, 24, 30) or occasionally with the article, *Hašaḥat* (Ps. 49:10; also Ezek. 28:8; Job 33:22, 28) becomes doubly meaningful. Certainly this name, *Šaḥat* or *Hašaḥat*, literally "the Pit," must be correlated with the name of the god of this mountain, *Hamašḥît*; and, furthermore, this pit, *Šaḥat*, would naturally be located immediately beneath this mountain.

thereof, he became ritually defiled, and that too apparently in extraordinary degree, and was therefore disqualified from participating in any way in the normal functions or associations of religious or social life. Also a tent or dwelling in which some one had died and all its contents became unclean in the same manner. Whoever or whatever touched such a person or object became ritually impure with the same contaminating effects. This ritual uncleanness and disqualification endured for the customary seven days period. On the third and again on the seventh day rites of purification were performed. These consisted in taking some of the ashes of the red heifer, pouring upon them fresh water, apparently enough to make out of the ashes an adhesive paste, and then, upon each of these two days, with a piece or bunch of hyssop sprinkling or smearing the paste of ashes upon the ritually defiled person, seemingly in such manner that the moist ashes would adhere to his body for a time. Upon the seventh day, after the performance of this rite for the second time, the contaminated person became ritually clean and thus was enabled to resume his normal place in communal life.

Certainly this animal was offered as a ritual sacrifice. But equally certainly, offered outside the camp, away from the Tent of Meeting, the sanctuary of Yahweh, even though the ritual act was performed by one of the regular priests, it was not offered to Yahweh. This consideration immediately raises the question, to what deity could it have been offered? Certainly too in this entire ritual procedure the color, red, played a basic role. Not only had the animal itself to be completely red in color, but also the cedar wood, the scarlet cord and, presumably, the hyssop also were of a deeply reddish hue. What could have been the import of this? In an authoritative and illuminating study[42] the learned Heidelberg archaeologist, Friederich von Duhn, established convincingly that among many peoples, commencing already in the stone age and continuing well into historic times, red, the color of blood, was also held to be the color closely linked with death.[43] And inasmuch as the sole purpose of this peculiar ritual institution with which we are here concerned was to purify from the effects, defiling and presumably dangerous, of contact with a dead person, we can readily perceive the import of the color, red, necessary not only for the sacrificial animal itself but also for all the objects

[42] "Rot und Tot," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* IX (1906), 1–24.

[43] Likewise, according to Isa. 1:18, red was the color of sin (cf. Morgenstern, "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *Jewish Quarterly Review* VIII [1917], 48 ff., note 71. The very close association of sin and death is of course implicit here.

which played a role in the ceremony. Impliedly contact with a corpse placed the contactant in the power of the god of death and the nether world, *Môt* or *Hamašḥît* or however he may have been called. From this dread power and the heavy taboo associated with it the performance of the ceremony in question redeemed him and enabled him to return in safety for himself and his human associates to his normal way of life. Unquestionably then this red heifer was, in origin at least, a sacrifice to the dread god of the nether world. This institution had its origin undoubtedly in the earliest, prehistoric stages of Semitic clan or tribal life. And quite plainly, like so many primitive cultic institutions, especially those connected with death, it took firm root in the tradition and practice of at least some of the Semitic peoples in the earliest, largely prehistoric stages of their cultural evolution and persisted in folk practice and even in the ritual of the official religion long after that people had in its cultural unfolding and progress outgrown in large measure the original thought and purpose basic to the institution. So it seems to have been in Israel, for, as provided for in Num. 19, a late, composite piece of P legislation, this institution of the red heifer makes the distinct impression of being a half-outgrown survival of a primitive religious institution, observed more as a safeguard against a potential and presumably dangerous contamination than as a procedure of positive worship.

The realization that this religious institution was observed primarily as a tribute to the god of the nether world, to *Môt*, "Death," or *Hamašḥît*, "the Destroyer," seems to have persisted in Israel until relatively late times, for, very significantly, the Mishnah[44] records that, so long as the temple was still standing, the red heifer was sacrificed upon the summit of the Mount of Olives, at a spot from which the temple, upon the Temple Mount on the other side of the Valley of Jehosaphat, was in plain view. There it must have been offered from the very earliest times in the history of the Jerusalem city-state, probably already by the Canaanite predecessors of Israel as lords of the city, offered of course to the god to whom this mountain was sacred. And, taken over from them, it persisted long in the religious practice of Israel, as Num. 19 and this Mishnah tractate evidence. And this fact confirms forcefully the thesis which we have affirmed, that the Mount of Olives, the *Har Hamašḥît*, "the Mountain of the Destroyer," was thought to belong to the god of the nether world, by whatever name he may have been called in the parlance of the early Canaanite Jerusalem city-state. This conclusion finds

[44] *Parah* III, 6–9.

corroboration in the fact that, apparently from earliest times, the dead of Jerusalem were buried at the base of the Mount of Olives.[45] Accordingly the sanctuary upon the summit of this mountain, where, still in the time of David, "one would prostrate himself to the god," could have been sacred only to the god of the netherworld. It was then to the sanctuary of this god, upon the summit of the Mount of Olives, that, at the very commencement of the eight-days period of the New Year festival, David, clothed in mourning garb and weeping as if for some one dead, was hastening. For whom then could he have been mourning in this obviously extreme manner and upon this very important ritual occasion?

However, before answering this question we must first consider one further matter of calendation. We have seen that the departure from Jerusalem of David, the king of Israel, and his ascent of the Mount of Olives, amidst the performance of rites of extreme mourning, to the place at the summit of the mountain where the people were accustomed to worship the god of the nether world, were unquestionably a part of the regular ritual of the New Year festival of that relatively early period in Israel's history, celebrated at or very near the commencement of that festival, seemingly upon the very first day thereof. Here the question arises, was this New Year festival that of the solar calendar, and, if so, could this calendar have been introduced into Israelite practice already in the days of David rather than later, during the reign of Solomon, as we have affirmed? Certainly David too was a close ally of Hiram of Tyre,[46] and the building up of the Israelite Empire and the development of international relations for Israel had commenced already with David. But despite these considerations one significant bit of evidence establishes with certainty that the calendar then in vogue in Israel, even in the capital city, Jerusalem, was not yet this solar calendar, but was still the old, West Semitic, agricultural pentecontad calendar. That cogent and illuminating bit of evidence is as follows:

In this pentecontad calendar the festival of Passover had no place whatsoever. Passover was in origin not an agricultural festival at all and had no agricultural implications. Rather it was a festival distinctly pastoral in character, linked closely with the pastoral life, and particularly with the birth of sheep early in the spring. It was a one-day, or rather a one-night, festival. Whether all the clans and tribes which came gradually to constitute the Israelite people had

[45] Cf. II Kings 23:6.
[46] II Sam. 5:11; I Kings 5:15.

sprung from the desert, where they lived the nomadic or semi-nomadic, pastoral life, which alone is possible in the great Arabian Desert, we cannot say. But certainly the tribe of Judah, David's own tribe, had had such an origin, and even for quite some time after its settlement in southern Canaan continued to live the pastoral or semi-pastoral life, with its various distinctive institutions, such as *beena* marriage and clan organization, with relatively little modification thereof until the time of David.[47] Accordingly it continued to cherish the Passover Festival in much the form in which it had been observed in the earliest, desert period of its history.

Now one of the distinctive features of the celebration of the Passover as a pastoral festival was that it was the occasion for the reunion of all the members of a clan and their together offering the annual clan sacrifice.[48] It is significant that at just this very critical moment, when the conspiracy against David was about to come to a head, Ahitophel, officially David's counselor, but actually the chief supporter and adviser of Absalom, was not present at the court, but was instead in his native city, Giloh, presumably with his family or clan, there offering sacrifice.[49] And inasmuch as the moment was early in the spring season, the occasion for this situation could, almost certainly, have been only the Passover Festival. Presumably Ahitophel, no doubt as the senior male member, and therefore the recognized head, of his clan, had returned to his native town, the headquarters of his clan, there to offer on the occasion of the Passover Festival the annual Paschal sacrifice. And not only Ahitophel, but likewise Chushai, the Arkite, was away from the court at just this same critical moment, for David met him at the summit of the mountain, at the sanctuary there, when he arrived at the spot. Moreover, Chushai too was engaged in the performance of rites of mourning at this sanctuary, for his outer garment had been rent and he had earth upon his head. That Chushai occupied an important position in David's court is indicated both by his title, "David's friend," and by the important commission which David now entrusted to him. Apparently Chushai too had been away from the court for a number of days, for he seems to have known nothing at all of the latest hap-

[47] I Sam. 20:6; cf. Morgenstern, "Beena Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Implications," *ZAW* (neue Folge) VI (1929), 93 f., 97–104.

[48] I Sam. 20:29; note that it is not David's father, but his brother, presumably his oldest brother, who, in full accord with the principles of *beena* marriage, here acts as the head of the *mišpaḥah*, the clan, who is represented as summoning David home for the clan festival.

[49] II Sam. 15:12.

penings in Jerusalem as these concerned David. Clearly he had come to the sanctuary upon the summit of the Mount of Olives, there to perform rites of mourning closely related to those which David was performing, while on his return journey to Jerusalem from wherever he had been. And it is a reasonable surmise that he too, like Ahitophel, had at just this moment in the year returned to the home of his clan, there, as the head of his clan, as he undoubtedly was, to offer the regular clan sacrifice of the Passover Festival.[50]

This cumulative evidence establishes clearly that still in David's day, even in the last years of his reign, the Passover Festival had not yet been integrated with the agricultural *Maṣṣôt* Festival, as it certainly was in the solar calendar inaugurated by Solomon, but was celebrated independently of and a few days, or perhaps even, in some years, a week or two earlier than the *Maṣṣôt* Festival. But it is also clear from the evidence which we have presented that in David's day and throughout his entire reign the New Year festival was celebrated, not at the autumnal equinox, as in the Solomonic solar calendar, but rather in the early spring. Accordingly it follows that the old pentecontad calendar, with its New Year's Day in the early spring, at the time of cutting the first sheaf of the new crop, and with the seven-days *Maṣṣôt* Festival celebrated upon the last seven days of the *old* year, in preparation for the advent of the new year,[51] was still in regular and official use throughout the entire reign of David.

Moreover, it must have been at the commencement of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival, on the very first day thereof, that David went forth from Jerusalem and, while performing rites of extreme mourning, ascended the Mount of Olives to the sanctuary of the god of the nether world at its summit. Here, quite naturally, the question becomes pressing, for whom was David mourning in this manner and at just this place,

[50] II Sam. 15:32–37.

[51] This should make it clear that the *maṣṣôt*, which were eaten during the seven days of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival upon the last seven days of the old year, and which gave to that festival its distinctive name, and the ceremonial eating of which upon these days was the forerunner of the ceremonial cutting of the first sheaf of the crop of the new year, must have been made from the last grain remaining of the crop of the old year. Whatever thereof could not be consumed in this manner had to be burned. Nothing of the old crop might remain over when the cutting of the new crop was commenced. In other words, the old Tammuz, the deification of the annual crop, had to have vanished completely before the Tammuz of the new year could come into being; cf. Morgenstern, "The Origin of Massoth and the Massoth-Festival," *American Journal of Theology* XXXVIII (1918), 125–39; "The Chanukkah Festival, etc.," *HUCA* XXI (1948), 379 f.

and not only David, but all those who accompanied him to this spot and likewise Chushai the Arkite? Certainly it was for no member of the royal family nor for any one particular person. In fact when we bear in mind that this entire procedure was obviously a cultic act of distinctly national character, a very important part of the local Jerusalem ritual of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival, since normally the king participated in it, we can draw only one conclusion, viz., that this mourning was for the god, Tammuz, whatever his local, Jerusalemitic name may have been, the Tammuz of the old year, the deification of the crop of the old year, who was thought to have died and, in the form of the seed of that crop planted in the earth, to have descended into the nether world. No other conclusion whatsoever is possible.

But this mourning for the old and dead Tammuz, the Tammuz of the old crop and of the year just ending, could have been only the anticipation of and preparation for his resurrection or rebirth in the form of the young, rejuvenated Tammuz, the offspring of this seed of the old crop, the old Tammuz, sown in the soil, in the womb of Mother Earth, the goddess Asherah, the son of the old and now dead god, the young Tammuz, who was the crop of the new year. This resurrection was destined to occur just a few days later, upon the day following the close of the seven-days *Maṣṣôt* Festival, the eighth and final day of the total festival period, the New Year's Day. And here the further thought suggests itself, that the king was, perhaps, in some measure at least, enacting the role of the god.

But if so, then we may infer with reasonable certainty that, arrived at the sanctuary of the god of the nether world upon the summit of the Mount of Olives at the very commencement of the festival, normally the king, at this moment enacting the role of the god in the phase of his being as the old Tammuz, dead and descended into the nether world, would immediately go into seclusion within the sanctuary, in some suitable place therein, invisible to mortal gaze, quite as if he had indeed descended into the nether world, into the realm of death and of its divine lord, and so had completely disappeared from human sight. And there he would remain for the full seven days of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival, completely cut off from contact with or even from sight by other human beings, for, symbolically, he was now dead, was in the nether world, in the power of its dread god. And while we have no direct evidence of this, we may infer with reasonable certainty from the close similarity of this situation to that of the Babylonian Marduk[52] and also that of the Ugaritic

[52] Cf. the references cited in note 29.

Aleyan Ba'al,[53] that in this Jerusalem ritual Tammuz, as symbolized by the king enacting the role of the god, at or near the end of the festival rose up there, in the nether world, against the god thereof, engaged him in bitter combat and prevailed over him. Then, upon the New Year's Day, resurrected, he rose triumphantly from the nether world into this world of life above, through the exit from it, the opening between the severed halves of the Mount of Olives, split apart upon this sacred day in order to make possible the emergence from the realm of death of the god, resurrected or reborn, and thus restored to life and creative activity. And then the king, now enacting the role of the resurrected or reborn god, would come forth from within the sanctuary, from within the realm of the god of death, into the sight of his attendants and his people, who had eagerly awaited this happy, auspicious moment, and, attended by all of them, in sacred and solemn procession, return upon this New Year's Day to the city, to Jerusalem, and to his sanctuary and his palace therein, to reascend his throne at the *šôfar* blast in order to govern, to judge and to bless his people during this new year, this new period of life both human and divine.

David's purpose in thus performing the regular ritual of the first day of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival is now perfectly clear. In the first place this suggested to Absalom and his associates that David, thus carrying out in normal manner the ritual celebration of the festival, had no suspicion whatever of their plot against him. Further, they assumed that, once arrived at the sanctuary upon the summit of the Mount of Olives, David would remain there in close seclusion, as was the normal festival procedure, until the final day of the festival, the New Year's Day, seven days in all. Moreover, thus cut off from all human contact during these seven festal days, David could not exercise the normal functions of royalty, and particularly he could not call out the army to his support. This situation would give them plenty of time to carry out their plot as they had planned it and to strike the decisive blow by putting David to death at just the right moment, and this, of course, while he was still in seclusion within the sanctuary of the god of the nether world. And David's failure to reappear to the gaze of his waiting attendants upon the New Year's Day would mean concretely that he had indeed died in the role of the god and in the performance of the ritual of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival, and that accordingly the moment had come, with the dawn of the New Year's Day, for Absalom to succeed his father upon the throne of Israel.

[53] Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, 37 ff.; Gaster, T. H., *Thespis* I, 193 ff.

But instead of remaining during the seven days of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival in complete seclusion within the sanctuary, as he would normally have done, David hastened on eastward and thus, before any word of this could reach Absalom and his fellow conspirators, he had crossed the Jordan and effected a union with Joab and the army in the field, under whose protection he was, of course, quite safe. And as for Absalom, with his plot, as he now realized, fully known by the king, his father, and his fell plan completely circumvented, naught now remained for him but, following the counsel of Ahitophel, or rather that of Chushai the Arkite,[54] to muster all his forces, pursue after David, cross over the Jordan and there engage the army of Joab in battle in the hope that he might somehow win the victory, and so still dispose of David and gain the throne.

The battle was fought between the forces of David, consisting mainly of his own Judaean fellow tribesmen, and those of Absalom, consisting almost entirely of northern tribesmen, Israelites.[55] The victory fell quite naturally to the well organized and disciplined Judaean army. Absalom, while fleeing from the battlefield on mule-back, was caught by his long hair in the branches of a tall tree. His mule passed out from under him, and he was left hanging on high, suspended 'twixt heaven and earth. According to the one account, in this position he was stabbed through the heart by Joab and killed.[56] As I have shown,[57] the death of Absalom in this manner had cultic implications. It was an essential part of the ritual of the *Maṣṣôt*-New Year's Day Festival as this was celebrated in David's day, and the tradition of which lived on persistently in certain Jewish circles, largely sectarian in character, as the biblical narratives of the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt in the Joseph story,[58] of Haman and Mordecai in the Book of Esther,[59] the theme underlying the drama of the Suffering Servant,[60] and the N.T. record of Jesus and Barabbas[61] convincingly prove. In principle the king, playing the role of the old and dying god, should have himself come to his end in some appropriate manner; but regularly a substitute, as a rule a person guilty of some heinous crime, and therefore usually a jailed

[54] II Sam. 17:1–14.
[55] II Sam. 16:15; 17:11, 24; 18:6.
[56] II Sam. 18:9–18.
[57] "The Suffering Servant — A New Solution," *VT* XI (1961).
[58] Gen. 40.
[59] Esther 7.
[60] Cf. the work cited in note 57, and in particular pp. 414–420.
[61] Matt. 27:15–26; Mark 15:6–15; Luke 23:18–25; John 18:39 f.

prisoner meriting execution, was put to death in the king's stead. Such was the custom in Babylonia also.[62] As II Sam. 19:1 may perhaps intimate, just this was the import of Absalom's death in this manner. Quite obviously he had planned to put David to death, and thus, upon this one occasion, in fully realistic manner, have the king himself die in the role of the human personification of the old and dead god. But, as the affair turned out, Absalom himself, certainly guilty of a crime meriting death, died as the substitute for his father, David, in the role of the old god, the Tammuz of the year now ended. He died apparently upon the seventh and final day of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival, the very last day of the old year. And as the appropriate counteraction of this complex festival ritual, Meribaal, the son of Saul, who had apparently likewise hoped to supplant David as king over Israel, thus fulfilling the role of the second criminal deserving of death, was graciously pardoned by David and was accorded an agreeable and permanent place at the royal court.[63]

But the next day, the New Year's Day, the first day of the new year, was the day of the resurrection or rebirth of the god, of his emergence from the nether world of darkness and death into this world of light and life above, of his emergence in rejuvenated, vigorous form as the young Tammuz, the crop of the new year. And this role too was, of course, enacted by the king. Quite obviously just this role Absalom had planned to play himself and thus give concrete and vivid demonstration in the sight of all the people that, no longer David, but now he himself was their true and rightful king. But as the affair turned out, in the beneficent, life-giving role of the resurrected god David now prepared to return, in proper, ritual manner, to Jerusalem, his city, and to his people. Normally this return would have been from the sanctuary of the god of the nether world, over whom he, as the resurrected god, had just triumphed, the sanctuary upon the summit of the mount of Olives, the mountain which was thought to cover the place of exit from the nether world. But in this particular instance, of course, the ceremonial return of David, the king, to Jerusalem upon the New Year's Day had to be from across the Jordan, where, as the result of uncontrollable circum-

[62] Cf. the works cited in note 29. Note also that in Ugaritic mythology the entrance to the nether world was covered by two mountains, two mountains, however, which were, almost certainly, primarily one single mountain split apart into two peaks in order to lay bare and permit access to or egress from the place of passage into or from the nether world; cf. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 37 (col. VIII, ll. 1–9); T. H. Gaster, *op. cit.*, 118, 183 f.

[63] II Sam. 9:6–13; 16:3; 19:25–31; 21:7.

stances, he found himself at that particular moment. Normally the king was attended in his return by those who had accompanied him in his going forth from Jerusalem at the commencement of the festival, his crossing of the Kidron Brook[64] and his ascent of the Mount of Olives to the sanctuary of the god of the nether world upon its summit, and who had, presumably, waited there throughout the course of the festival for the moment of the return of the resurrected god, in the person of the king, back across the Kidron, to his city and his people. But now the situation was quite different. The return had to be from across the Jordan.[65] Who now should constitute the procession in attendance upon the king-god in this return? A dispute ensued between the Israelites, the northern tribesmen, eager to regain the favor of the king after their disloyalty to him in supporting Absalom, and the Judaeans of Joab's army, who had been faithful to David and had won the victory for him and their kinsmen at home. This dispute David decided quite naturally in favor of the loyal Judaeans.[66] And thus escorted, David returned in joyous, ceremonial procession to Jerusalem. Quite obviously, already in David's day the procession which escorted the king-god upon his departure from the city to the summit of the Mount of Olives at the commencement of the eight-days festival period and again from there back to the city upon the New Year's Day was a matter of considerable significance in the ritual of the festival.

All this weighty evidence gathered from the biblical record of the David-Absalom episode tells us much that is of deep significance for the history of the religion of Israel. It tells us first that still in David's day, even as we had surmised, the old, West Semitic pentecontad calendar was in official use in Israel, that its New Year's Day came in the early spring, and that in its celebration it was so closely linked with the seven-days *Maṣṣôt* Festival, the festival during which the last of the grain of the old year was consumed in the form of hastily baked, unleavened bread, that together they constituted one closely unified festival of eight days duration, the last seven days of the old year and the first day of the new year. Upon this New Year's

[64] II Sam. 15:23.

[65] There is some reason for thinking that normally the Kidron Brook played in Jerusalem folklore a role similar to that of the River Styx in Greek mythology, in that it separated the world of the living from that of the dead. Now, upon this particular occasion, the Jordan, of course, played this same role. To a certain extent the Jordan continues still today to play something of this role in Christian lore.

[66] II Sam. 19:10–16, 41–44.

Day the first sheaf of the new crop was cut as a cultic rite. This eight-days festival commenced immediately after the conclusion of the seventh pentecontad, the seventh and final fifty-days period of the pentecontad year. It began accordingly upon the first day of the new week, a day which corresponded to our Sunday. Therefore the eighth and final day of the festival period fell likewise upon a day which eventually came also, in terms of the later calendars, to correspond to our Sunday. These two Sundays were, of course, the antecedents of Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday of the calendar of the Christian Church.[67]

This evidence tells further that the dominant god of the Judaean state, whose capital was Jerusalem, was, of course, Yahweh. But he was no longer the old Yahweh of the early nomadic or semi-nomadic, pastoral stage of Judah's cultural evolution. He was instead a Yahweh who had been transformed in considerable measure, through the compulsions of the then dominant Israelite agricultural civilization, into a god of the Tammuz type, the deification of the annual crop. He was now a god who existed, in principle at least, in two reciprocal phases of being, corresponding to the old Tammuz of West Semitic agricultural religion, the deification of the crop of the old year, the father-god, and the young Tammuz, the deification of the crop of the new year, born from the seed of the old crop and therefore the son of the old Tammuz. In the figure of Yahweh, Israel's national god, this distinction between father-god and son-god seems not to have been drawn quite so clearly and positively as it came to be drawn in Tyrian solar religion. In both of these phases of His being He was still Yahweh, the one god. Nevertheless, in the old god phase of His being, Yahweh was thought to die, to descend into the nether world, into the power of the god of death, the lord of the realm of darkness, at the commencement of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival. The sacral eating of the very last remains of the crop of the old year in the form of *maṣṣôt* expressed in very graphic form the end of the old Yahweh. In the young god phase of His being he was, in turn, thought to rise from the nether world early upon the New Year's Day, in rejuvenated, vigorous form, victorious over the god of death, in the form of the crop of the new year, to new life and dominion in the world of life and light above. The first sheaf of the new crop, cut, with appropriate ritual, upon the New Year's Day, was the first fruit offering, the proper taboo-sacrifice, which ensured the continued existence and

[67] This matter I have discussed in detail in a work, as yet unpublished, entitled *Some Significant Antecedents of Christianity*.

growth of the crop, and therefore the existence, power and functioning of the god thereof, the young Yahweh.

The place of resurrection of this national god of Jerusalem and of Israel was the summit of the Mount of Olives east of the city, across the Kidron Valley, through which flowed the Kidron Brook. This mountain, in the folklore of Jerusalem, covered the passage which led upward from the nether world into this world above. Very early upon the morning of the New Year's Day this mountain was thought to split apart into two separate peaks, thus laying bare, in the chasm opening up between them, the gateway from the nether world.[68] A late echo thereof is found in Zech. 14:4 f. It was through this gateway that the resurrected god rose from the nether world upon each New Year's Day.

One further and very significant echo of this ancient tradition is found in the N.T. Matt. 28:1 ff. records that just before the advent of Easter Sunday, the day corresponding to the New Year's Day of the pentecontad calendar, there was an earthquake, one obviously of the same nature as that mentioned in Zech. 14:4 f. This earthquake was the forerunner of the resurrection of Jesus, for it removed the great stone from the door of Jesus' tomb and so opened up for him the exit therefrom, the exit from the nether world. The clear implication of this is that the tomb of Jesus was at or upon the Mount of Olives and that once again upon this ancient festal day the mountain had split apart to permit the emergence of Jesus as a divine being, as the Son of the Father, from the nether world. Also, according to Luke 24:50 f., it was from the Mount of Olives, presumably from the summit thereof, the place of resurrection, that Jesus ascended into heaven.

And one further fact of extreme significance the biblical record of the David-Absalom episode tells us, viz., that already in David's day, undoubtedly an institution borrowed from the religious practice of the Canaanite predecessors of Judah in Jerusalem, the king enacted the role of the god in both of the reciprocal phases of his divine being, that of the old and dying god and that of the resurrected, youthful god. Plainly then this enactment by the king of the role of the dying and then resurrected god was in origin a ritual practice of early West Semitic, agricultural religion. Accordingly then already in early West Semitic agricultural religion, even that of Israel in David's days, the identification of the king with the god, the embodi-

[68] For a full presentation of the evidence of this cf. Morgenstern, "The King-god, etc.," 146–51, 179–83.

ment of the god in the person of the king, was an established institution.

From all this it is clear that many of the fundamental details of both the theology and the cultic practice of West Semitic solar religion, as inaugurated by Hiram in Tyre and by Solomon in Jerusalem, were adaptations to solar religion of concepts and institutions which had been basic to and had found vivid expression in the antecedent agricultural religion. The major deity now became a solar instead of an agricultural god, as he had been previously, the deification of the sun in its annual course instead of the deification of the crop in its annual course. But he was still a god in two distinct, reciprocal phases of divine being, the old god, who died or vanished from mortal sight, who descended into the nether world, into the power of the god of this world of darkness and death, and there became transformed into his other being, the young god, who triumphed in a bitter struggle over the god of the nether world and rose thence, through the splitting asunder of the mountain to the east, which covered the place of exit from the nether world, into this world above, this world of light and of life, to return to his kingdom and his people, to rule, to protect and to give life, prosperity and assured national existence.

In Judah accordingly Yahweh, Judah's native god from early days, from the moment of its exit from Egypt and its coming, under the leadership of Moses, to the mountain where dwelt, in clan belief, the native god of the Kenite clan, into which Moses had married, the god with whom Judah, believing itself delivered from Egyptian bondage by him, now entered into covenant relationship and whom it thus adopted as its god, this Yahweh, already even before David's time transformed in large measure from a pastoral into an agricultural deity, was now, under Solomon, transformed one stage further, into a solar deity. And his new temple Solomon erected upon a spot perfectly suited for a solar sanctuary, upon the summit of what came now to be called the Temple Mount, a lofty and majestically situated elevation which fronted eastward, overlooked the Kidron Valley and faced directly the Mount of Olives upon the other side of the Valley in such precise manner that upon the two annual, equinoctial days the first rays of the morning sun, just risen at this spot from the nether world, would shine over the top of the Mount of Olives directly into this new sanctuary upon the Temple Mount. This was a matter of extreme importance in this new solar religion of Israel, for, as we have learned, in the religious belief and practice of Jerusalem the Mount of Olives was thought to cover the

place of exit from the nether world, and so to be necessarily the place of resurrection of the dead and vanished god of Jerusalem, whether that god was a form of the local Tammuz, the deification of the annual crop, or of the transformed Yahweh, the new, solar deity of Jerusalem. Thus it was that the first rays of the morning sun, shining over the summit of the Mount of Olives shortly after dawn of the equinoctial New Year's Day into the open eastern gate of the temple of Solomon, came to betoken realistically the entrance of the newly resurrected sun-god, just risen from the nether world, risen through the, for Jerusalem, regular place of exit therefrom, into his sanctuary, his city and his kingdom, there to rule over his people throughout the new year now beginning.

Moreover, satisfying, as we have learned, an urgent political and cultural need, a new calendar was adopted by Solomon, a true solar calendar, whose most sacred festal days were naturally those which were significant in the course of the solar year, and the New Year's Day of which was now set upon one of the two annual equinoctial days, in Tyre apparently upon the day of the vernal equinox, but in Jerusalem upon the day of the autumnal equinox. Furthermore, just as in the agricultural pentecontad calendar the New Year's Day in the early spring, the first day of the new year, had been preceded immediately by the seven-days *Maṣṣôt* Festival, the seven final days of the old year, a period of essential preparation for the ritual procedure of the New Year's Day, so now, in his new, Israelite form of the solar calendar, Solomon transferred the seven-days *'Asîf* Festival, the harvest festival, from the time when it was celebrated in the pentecontad calendar, following immediately upon the fourth pentecontad of the agricultural year, to a time approximately three weeks earlier, the seven days immediately preceding the day of the autumnal equinox, the last seven days of the old year of the new, solar calendar. Apparently upon the first day of this, obviously, preparatory festival the old solar Yahweh was thought to vanish, to descend into the nether world, only, however, seven days later, at dawn of the New Year's Day, to rise therefrom in rejuvenated, vigorous form and to return to His city and His people.

Just how much of the ritual of the New Year's Day of the old, pentecontad calendar was appropriated by Solomon and adapted to the ritual of the New Year's Day of his new, solar calendar upon the day of the autumnal equinox we have no way of knowing, for the Bible offers little information bearing thereon. The place of resurrection of the god was, of course, for Jerusalem still the summit of the Mount of Olives. There it was that Yahweh, in the form of the

revivified god of the solar year, was thought to rise from the nether world just at dawn of this all-important day, to rise with the sound of the ram's horn, the *šôfar*, and to come, in the form of the first rays of the newly risen sun, westward, over the Kidron Valley to the Temple Mount. There, still in the form of the first rays of the sun of this equinoctial New Year's Day, he entered the temple through the eastern gate, the so-called "Gates of Righteousness," opened shortly before dawn of this particular day for just this ceremony, and then closed again at sunset of the same day, to remain fast closed for the entire remaining portion of the solar year just beginning. From these he passed on, still in the form of the first rays of the just risen sun, through the courtyard of the temple to the altar which stood just in front of the doorway in the eastern façade of the temple building. There, there is good reason to believe, the fire upon the altar had been extinguished at the commencement of the *'Āsîf* Festival, seven days earlier, to symbolize the death of the god and his consequent absence from his sanctuary. Now, vividly symbolic of the resurrection of the god and of his return to his sanctuary, this fire upon the altar was rekindled. Just how this was done we can only surmise,[69] for we have no direct evidence whatever bearing thereon. But the very position of the altar, just on the line of advance of these first rays of the rising sun of this equinoctial New Year's Day, suggests strongly that this altar-fire was thought to be kindled directly by these very rays, and thus to symbolize in most graphic manner the resurrection of the god and his return to his sanctuary. From this altar he passed further onward in radiant form, in *kabôd*, "glory, radiance," through the door of the temple building, between the two bronze pillars standing there, and down the long axis of the building into the *d'bîr*, the sacred recess, at its far western end. Therein stood the divine throne, at first, from the erection of the temple by Solomon to the reformation in the reign of Asa in 899 B. C.,[70] presumably a golden throne, but thereafter the old Ark of Yahweh, now deposited in the *d'bîr* and playing henceforth, until the destruction of the second temple in 485 B. C., the role of the throne of Yahweh.[71] Upon this throne, now illumined by these first

[69] Cf. Morgenstern, *The Fire Upon The Altar.*

[70] Cf. Morgenstern, "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," *HUCA* IV (1927), 1–138; "Amos Studies" III, *HUCA* XV (1940), 100–34.

[71] Of course the old and true Ark of Yahweh must have disappeared with the destruction of the first temple in 586 B. C. But there is ample reason for believing that a second Ark, built more or less in imitation of the first or of what tradition had come to represent the original Ark as having been, replaced this in the second

rays of this New Year's Day sun, it seemed that Yahweh, the sun-god, had ascended and there had taken His place as divine King of His people, to rule, to judge and to bless. But as the sun rose higher and higher the rays of light gradually receded. With this, so apparently it was thought, Yahweh withdrew from the temple and resumed His normal and permanent place as a sun-god in the heavens above.[72]

Furthermore, as we have learned,[73] there is good reason for believing that in the ritual of this solar New Year's Day the king of Judah enacted the role of the resurrected solar Yahweh, returned or returning to His sanctuary upon this sacred day.[74] Of the details of this ritual we have only the scantiest information. But inasmuch as the principle of the resurrection of this solar Yahweh, vividly enacted in the ritual of this solar New Year's Day, had been appropriated from the ritual of the corresponding New Year's Day of the earlier, pentecontad calendar, it seems altogether reasonable to assume that the principle and ritual of this entire eight days long death and resurrection festival of the agricultural religion of early Israel were taken over by Solomon for his solar religion and were adapted, of course with the necessary modifications, to the ritual of his now composite *'Asîf*-New Year's Day Festival at the time of the autumnal equinox. Moreover, since the kings of Judah were all descendants of David and likewise residents of Jerusalem, the capital city, we may assume further and with corresponding probability that the New Year festival ritual which they enacted resembled in broad outline that of the corresponding festival of the older, agricultural calendar which David, their honored ancestor, had carried out year after year during his long reign, with such modifications, however, as adjustment to

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temple. And probably a third Ark, of similar character but serving an altogether different purpose, was fashioned for the third temple.

[72] Cf. *The Fire Upon The Altar*. [73] "The King-god etc.," 176–97.

[74] Note that this seven-days *'Asîf* Festival, celebrated in this solar calendar during the final seven days of the solar year and as the immediate forerunner of and preparation for the celebration of the New Year's Day of this calendar precisely as, in the pentecontad calendar, the *Maṣṣôt* Festival was celebrated during the final seven days of the agricultural year and as the immediate forerunner of and preparation for the celebration of the New Year's Day of the pentecontad calendar, likewise began, precisely as did the *Maṣṣôt* Festival of that calendar, with ceremonies of deepest mourning, as if for some one dead (cf. Morgenstern, "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *JQR* VIII 1917, 44–48). And this object of annual, widespread, festival mourning upon a national scale could have been only Yahweh, conceived of as the god of the sun in his annually repeated phases of death, at the commencement of this festival of preparation and anticipation, and his resurrection seven days later, upon the New Year's Day.

the principles and conditions of the solar religion necessitated or made advisable.

Accordingly we may assume that early in the course of the *'Asîf* Festival, celebrated now during the last seven days of the old year of the solar calendar, now in official use, the seven days immediately preceding the autumnal equinox, and most probably upon the very first day thereof, the king went forth from the city, attended by a retinue of priests and also, no doubt, of high government officials and general populace, crossed over the Kidron Brook and ascended the Mount of Olives, to the east of the city, to the sanctuary of the god of the nether world upon its summit. He was clothed, no doubt, in garments dark in hue, for he was now playing the role of the old and now dead and vanished solar Yahweh. Arrived at the summit of the mountain, he entered into complete seclusion within the sanctuary of the god of the nether world, there situated, where he remained, cut off from all human contacts, for the entire remaining period of the *'Asîf* Festival. Thereby he imparted realism to his role as the old and now dead solar Yahweh, who had departed from human sight and contact and had descended into the nether world, into the power of the god of darkness and death.

Then promptly at dawn of the equinoctial New Year's Day the king came forth from within the sanctuary, emerged, as it seemed very realistically, from the nether world, no longer, however, in the dark garb of death, but now, undoubtedly, arrayed in royal raiment, and especially in an outer robe of radiant splendor,[75] as befitted the resurrected, rejuvenated solar king-god, just delivered from and triumphant over death. No doubt immediately upon his emergence from the sanctuary of the god of the nether world he was joined by a body of priests and high government officials, who had assembled at this spot in eager anticipation of this moment of resurrection. At the head of this group the king moved steadily onward in solemn procession, keeping pace with the progress of the first rays of the newly risen sun, so far as this was possible, and reflecting the light therefrom from his outer, radiant garment. Down the Mount of Olives, across the Kidron Brook, up the slope of the Temple Mount and on, through the open eastern gate the procession advanced, with the king at its head. As he drew ever nearer to the city a steadily growing train of people of all ranks, joyously awaiting this auspicious moment, attached themselves to him and his retinue and, in solemn, exultant procession, followed him on his onward march until it reached

[75] Cf. "The King-god, etc.," 157 f., 187 f.

the temple precincts, and probably even into the eastern courtyard. From there the king advanced, attended no doubt by the chief-priest of the sanctuary, past the altar of burnt offering, on between the two sacred pillars at the doorway, then into the temple building and down its long axis to the throne at its far western end. This the king ascended in majesty and thus resumed his position as god and king of Judah.

Thus far this matter of the origin and evolution of the ritual of the solar New Year festival in ancient Israel is quite clear. But here one insoluble problem confronts us, insoluble because the Bible offers only sufficient evidence to raise the problem, but no evidence whatever which would suggest its solution. This problem is what was the role of the Ark in this ritual? As we have seen, II Sam. 15:25 indicates that the Ark played, or at least seemed to play, a role of some kind in the ritual of the New Year Festival of the pentecontad calendar as this was observed in Jerusalem in David's day. That it was David's normal procedure to take the Ark with him when, at the commencement of the *Maṣṣôt* Festival, he went forth from Jerusalem, in the discharge of the regular festival ritual, to ascend the Mount of Olives to the sanctuary of the god of the nether world at its summit, seems certain. But inasmuch as upon the particular occasion recorded in II Sam. 15 the Ark was sent back by David, in the care of its own priests, to its sanctuary in Jerusalem very soon after he had himself come forth safely from the city, and therefore upon this one occasion at least did not accompany him in his ascent of the Mount of Olives, and so had apparently no specific role in the ceremonies which were normally performed there during the course of the eight-days festival, and also since certainly in David's day the Ark had not yet come to be regarded as the throne of Yahweh, we have concluded, though, we must admit, upon very meager and uncertain grounds, that its role in the celebration of this festival of the agricultural, pentecontad calendar of David's day was only incidental and not at all basic and essential.

Ps. 132:8, however, seems to indicate that the Ark played some role, and that apparently a positive and integral role, in the solemn procession which was, as we have now learned, a very important part of the ritual of the solar New Year Festival, as this was celebrated in the Jerusalem temple. But this is absolutely the only biblical passage which refers, or seems to refer, to the Ark in this connection, and it, as is clear, offers not the slightest suggestion as to what this role may have been. The references in vv. 10–18 to Yahweh's covenant with David and His promise to David of posterity

who would succeed him in the kingship of Israel suggest strongly that this psalm is the product of the early post-Exilic period, the period of the second temple, 516–485 B. C., when Judah was a small, conquered province of the vast Persian Empire and did not enjoy political independence, and so did not have its own king. But we know that during this brief, thirty-years period the hope, and even the confident expectation, of regaining political independence, of restoration of the Davidic dynasty to the throne, and even that, in fulfillment of Yahweh's ultimate purpose and promise and under the leadership of a Yahweh-supported king of the Davidic line, Judah would overthrow Persia and become in its stead the head of an ever-enduring world empire, were strong and active within the ranks of the Nationalist Party in Judah.[76] Ps. 132 certainly voices that hope and expectation, and is therefore in all likelihood the product of this period of Israel's history.

Moreover, there is every reason to believe that in this short-lived second temple the cultic practice of the first temple persisted and was carried on as completely as possible. This would mean that the ritual of the solar New Year festival of the first temple was performed in the best manner possible in this second temple. But during this entire period there was no Judaean king to enact the part in this ritual which the king had played therein in the pre-Exilic period, viz., to enact the role, and thus symbolize the actual presence, of Yahweh therein. Accordingly it may well have been that during this period and under these circumstances the Ark played the role, at least in part, formerly played by the king, of the recognized symbol of Yahweh and of His actual presence and active participation in this momentous ritual. This is, of course, only a surmise, but inasmuch as nothing else suggests itself and positive evidence of any kind is completely lacking, this surmise seems the most probable solution of this problem. Certainly it is as far as we may at present go in this matter. But if it be in any degree correct, it would imply that only in the very brief period of the second temple did the Ark have a definite place in this important portion of the ritual of the New Year festival. Inasmuch as in the first temple from the time of Asa onwards the Ark seems to have functioned as the throne of Yahweh, it can hardly have then had a place in the sacred procession, either from the temple at the commencement of the festival period or back to the temple early on the morning of the New Year's Day. Rather we would expect that it would have been allowed to remain

[76] Cf. Morgenstern, "Jerusalem — 485 B. C.," 155–79.

in the temple, ready for Yahweh's ascension of it, His throne, as divine King in the ritual of the morning of the solar New Year's Day. More than this we cannot say with regard to the role of the Ark in this all-important festival ritual.

IV

Summary

Such was the all-important ritual procedure of the solar religion into which Solomon transformed the old traditional religion of Judah, such the solar god, in two reciprocal phases of divine being, into whom Solomon transformed the ancient, tribal Yahweh, such the New Year festival, with the New Year's Day now celebrated upon the day of the autumnal equinox, with the *'Asîf* Festival, the harvest festival of the old, pentecontad calendar, now moved up to a time some three weeks earlier than when it had been originally observed, and celebrated upon the last seven days of the old, solar years and as the preparation for the advent of the new year, and thus linked closely with the New Year's Day. It must then have been at the commencement of this eight-days festival period, now celebrated, under the conditions of the new solar calendar, at the time of the autumnal equinox instead of in the early spring, as in the days of David and under the conditions of the earlier, pentecontad calendar, that the king went forth in festal processon, in the role of Yahweh, the sun-god, from Jerusalem to the summit of the Mount of Olives, and upon the closing day of this period, the equinoctial New Year's Day, that, as the impressive climax of the entire eight-days ritual procedure, still in the same divine role, and in augmented festal procession, he returned to the city and the temple therein. Throughout this entire ceremony the king enacted the role of Yahweh as the dying and resurrected god of the solar year. The place of resurrection was the summit of the Mount of Olives. And, except for the one year of Absalom's rebellion, it was from the summit of the Mount of Olives that, just at sunrise of the equinoctial New Year's Day, the ritual procession, headed by the king in the role of the resurrected god, came to the city and entered the temple through the open eastern gate. It came therefore, not from the west, as Mowinckel has surmised, but from the east. This ritual procession was the impressive climax of the celebration of the entire eight-days New Year festival. And the ultimate climax of this ceremonial procession and of the ritual of the entire festival was the ascension of the divine

throne by the king in the role of Yahweh, conceived and worshiped as a solar deity.

Such is the cultic setting of the "Enthronement Psalms."

And in the light of all this evidence and the significant conclusions which we have drawn therefrom one of these "Enthronement Psalms" in particular acquires an altogether new interpretation. This is Ps. 47, certainly a New Year's Day psalm, even as Mowinckel maintains. In fact, according to *Massekhet Soferim* XIX, 12, Ps. 47 was recited regularly as an important part of the Synagogue ritual of the New Year's Day. The first matter to note is the precise thought which v. 6 conveys. עלה here does not describe the deity's ascent of the slope of the Temple Mount, either from the west, as Mowinckel maintains, or from the east. Rather it refers unquestionably to the rising of the sun, and specifically to the ascent of the resurrected god from the nether world into the heavens above, upon this equinoctial New Year's Day. This interpretation of the verb finds twofold and definitive confirmation within the psalm itself. In the first place, the continuation of the v. tells that this rising of the sun was attended by the blowing of the *šôfar*. We have learned[77] that the blowing of the ram's horn was a distinctive rite of the New Year's Day, which heralded in first degree the beginning of the new year. V. 6 tells us very explicitly that the ram's horn was blown ceremonially upon the New Year's Day at precisely the moment of sunrise, and thus marked, not merely the day, but the very moment, of the commencement of the new year.[78] This close linking of the blowing of the ram's horn, this distinctive New Year's Day rite, with the ascent of the deity evidences beyond all possibility of challenge that עלה here describes specifically the rising of the sun.

Of course it may be argued that nowhere in the entire Bible is עלה used with השמש, "the sun," to describe the sunrise, that rather the regular verbs for this are זרח and, occasionally, יצא.[79] But we note in the first place that עלה is the verb used regularly with השחר, "the dawn." And in the second place we note that עלה here describes, not the ordinary, daily sunrise, but a sunrise of especial import, the sunrise upon the equinoctial New Year's Day, the day upon which the dead sun-god, restored to life in youthful, vigorous form and victorious in his combat with the god of the nether world,

[77] Above, p. 34.

[78] For the reckoning of the day from sunrise to sunrise in ancient Israel, i. e., of course, under the conditions of the solar calendar, cf. "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars, etc.," 15–28; "The Reckoning of the Day in the Gospels and Acts."

[79] Gen. 19:23; Isa. 13:10.

ascended triumphantly from there into this world of light and life above, in other words, the resurrection of the god. Precisely this is the implication of the verb, עלה, here.

And this interpretation of this verb and this v., and with this of the psalm itself, is borne out by the use of the same verb, but in the *nif'al* conjugation, in v. 10, the very last word of the psalm. Here the verb is rendered by most translators and commentators[80] "he is exalted." Unquestionably the word could have this meaning, but hardly here. Here the verb seems rather to be used in the reflexive sense.[81] Accordingly מאד נעלה should be translated "He has raised Himself very high" and be interpreted as referring specifically to the ascension of the divine throne by the god,[82] in the person of the king, the climax of this entire major ceremony of the New Year's Day, even as the two words are, quite obviously, the climax of the entire psalm.

It should be noted also that, as vv. 2 and 10 evidence, the representatives of various nations or peoples are present in the temple at Jerusalem for the celebration of this New Year festival and to hail the resurrected, solar Yahweh as the divine king of all the earth, and therefore as not only Israel's god, but their god as well. As I have shown elsewhere,[83] something closely akin to this practice was a regular feature of the ancient Tyrian New Year festival, and was taken over by Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria, when he appropriated many of the institutions and practices of this early Tyrian religion for his national religion of Syria and, in conformity with one of these institutions, required that representatives of all the subject peoples who comprised his vast Syrian Empire be present at the celebration of the particular New Year festival at Tyre, early in his reign, at which he identified himself with Ba'al Shamem-Melcarth and so became Epiphanes. Obviously a somewhat comparable situation is envisaged for Judah and its king in this psalm, for v. 10 represents the rulers and princes[84] of foreign peoples as being present in the temple upon this New Year's Day, rendering homage unto Yahweh and acknowledging Him as god of all the world and therefore as their god also.[85] Moreover, vv. 4 f. envisage the Judaean state as, through the favor and support of Yahweh, being firmly

[80] So also Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II, 9.

[81] Cf. Exod. 40:36 f.; Num. 9:21 f.; 10:11; Ezek. 9:3.

[82] So also v. 9.

[83] "The King-god, etc.," 162 ff.

[84] מגני ארץ; for מגן, used figuratively of course, as a synonym of מלך, cf. Ps. 89:19.

[85] Cf. Ps. 96:7-10, which apparently envisages a closely similar scene.

established in its own land and having dominion over other nations, as being in truth the supreme nation of the entire earth, the head of a true world empire. This reflects closely, of course, the confident faith and hope of the Nationalist Party in Judaea during the period of the second temple and their cherished expectation of the restoration of the Davidic kingship and of ensuing Judean world-conquest and domination, which led to the great, national catastrophe of 485 B. C.[86] It must have been during this period, 516-485 B. C., and most probably towards the end thereof, at about 490 B. C., that Ps. 47 was composed by some ardent but pious member of the Nationalist Party.

And in the light of the broad universalism which finds expression in many of these "Enthronement Psalms" we may conclude with reasonable assurance that not a few, and perhaps even the majority, of them are the products of this brief but, in a literary sense, very fruitful period of Israel's history, this period when, voicing the reaction of at least one section of the Jewish community in Palestine to the message of Deutero-Isaiah, universalism flourished extensively in the doctrine and program of official Judaism and a proselyte movement to Judaism of considerable extent was current.[87]

[86] "Jerusalem — 485 B. C.," 155–79.

[87] Cf. Morgenstern, "Two Prophecies from 520–16 B. C.," *HUCA* XXII (1949), 418–25.

HOW LONG DID ABRAM STAY IN EGYPT?

A STUDY IN HELLENISTIC, QUMRAN, AND RABBINIC CHRONOGRAPHY

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IN GEN. 12:11–20 Sarai's seizure by Pharaoh is related. To the modern reader this episode may appear as minor and not especially edifying. To the ancients, however, the encounter between Pharaoh and the traveler from Ur of the Chaldees seemed as a crucial event in the history of mankind. This was necessarily true during the Hellenistic period when Egypt was a major power and Alexandria the leading metropolis of the world. During the Roman period, to judge from the rabbinic sources, Abram's journey into Egypt is relatively ignored, compared to great wealth of patriarchal lore recorded.[1] The Hellenistic Jewish writers, however, made it appear that the meeting between Abram and Pharaoh was significant for the Jewish people and mankind. This remains evident from the few fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish writers even though the literature is lost.[2] The extent to which some ancients treated the patriarch's journey into Egypt can be seen in the recently deciphered Genesis Apocryphon.[3] This Aramaic scroll devotes more space to the patriarch's adventures

[1] See for example Gen. Rabbah, 38–40, pp. 361–90 (Theodor-Albeck), where the patriarch's encounter with Nimrod is retold at length, but knows nothing of Abram's activities in Egypt, though Sarai's miraculous delivery is stressed.

[2] Preserved mainly by Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 17 ff. =F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, IIIC, Pt. 2 (Leiden, 1957), Nos. 722–37. Hereafter cited as "*FGrH.*" J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdäischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Breslau, 1875); Stearns, *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers* (Chicago, 1908).

[3] N. Avigad and Y. Yadin (eds.), *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem, 1956). For the secondary literature, see J. A. Fitzmyer, "Some Observations on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 22 (1960), 277, n. 6. To which add: E. Osswald, "Beobachtungen zur Erzählung von Abrahams Aufenthalt in Ägypten in 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" *ZAW*, 72 (1960), 7–25; J. Finkel, "The Author of Genesis Apocryphon Knew the Book of Esther," [in Hebrew] *Mehqarim bamegilloth hagenuzoth* (Jerusalem, 1961), 163–82; H. H. Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of Genesis Apocryphon," *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G. R. Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 116–29.

in Egypt than to any other theme.[4] There is, then, no reason to doubt that the ancients, having converted a minor episode into a major theme, infused into it great significance.

Among the questions the ancient authors considered were: What was the real purpose of the patriarch's journey to Egypt? How long did he stay there? The Graeco-Jewish writers, some of whom must have lived in Egypt, were deeply interested in these problems too. Unhappily, the chronology of the professional biblical chronographer, Demetrius (221-204 B. C.) for the Abrahamic period is lost.[5] Artapanus, a biblical romancer (before 80 B. C.), claimed that Abram stayed in Egypt twenty years.[6] Other Hellenistic Jewish writers, such as Pseudo-Eupolemus (a Samaritan, *circa* 200 B. C.), did not give an exact date.[7] But the general point of view of these writers was that the patriarch introduced the sciences including astrology to Egypt. According to Pseudo-Eupolemus, Abram lived in Heliopolis where he instructed the Egyptians in the discoveries made by Enoch and by himself.[8] These claims, repeated in one way or another by Josephus and other Graeco-Jewish writers, as well as in the literature dependent on them, assumed that the patriarch lived in Egypt long enough to have been able to carry out his educational mission.[9]

In contrast to Artapanus' fantastic claim of a twenty-year stay, the author of the Book of Jubilees offers a detailed chronology, adding a scriptural citation, presumably to prove his dating: "And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week (1956 A. M.) and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built — seven years after Hebron."[10] Omitting the patriarch's deception of Pharaoh, Jubilees repeats the account given in Gen. 12:14-17 concerning Sarai's seizure by the king, the plagues that followed, the numerous gifts Abram received upon her release, but intentionally ignores Pharaoh's reproof

[4] Genesis Apocryphon, cols. XIX, 7-XX, 32. cols. II XXII retell Gen. 5:28-15:4.

[5] Demetrius, *FGrH*, 722 F 1 = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* IX, 21, 16, gives the number of years from Abraham to the Exodus. Demetrius' chronology for the Abrahamic period was as detailed as that of Jacob's (722 F 1).

[6] Artapanus, *FGrH*, 726 F 1 = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 18, 1.

[7] Pseudo-Eupolemus, *FGrH*, 724 F 1 = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 17, 6–8.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *AJ*, I, 166; Philo, *De Abr.*, 69 ff. Cf. Tosefta, Qiddushin 5, 17; Bab. Shabbath, 156a; Bava Bathra, 16b, 91a-b; Gen. Rabbah, 44, p. 433; *Saadyana* (ed. Schechter), 93 f. See also Wacholder, "Pseudo-Eupolemus' Two Greek Fragments on Abraham," *HUCA*, XXXIV (1963), 83–113.

[10] Jub. 13:11-12 (Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II [Oxford, 1913]).

to Abram: "Why did you say, 'She is my sister' " (Gen. 12:18–19). Abram returned to Canaan in the forty-first Jubilee, in the third year of the first week, i. e., 1963 A. M.[11] Jubilees then repeats Gen. 12:11–20, except that its author a) adds the chronology; b) omits the possible blemish on the patriarch's character;[12] and c) quotes Num. 12:22, that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan (Tanis).

The account of Abram's stay in Egypt in the Book of Jubilees raises several questions. If the author did not particularly admire the patriarch's activities in Egypt, why did he make him stay there seven years, contrary to the impression in Genesis? What is intended by the citation of Num. 13:22? Is it merely to yield the number seven? As a result of the successful decipherment of the account of Abram's stay in Egypt in the Genesis Apocryphon we have a better understanding of Jubilees' version of the same event. Like Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon says, as pointed out by the editors, that Hebron was just completed when the patriarch was entering the Negeb, dwelling there two years before leaving for Egypt.[13] In Egypt, he successfully concealed Sarai for five years; when found, she was in the royal palace two years.[14] The chronology and sequence of events are the same in both works. However, only from Genesis Apocryphon can we determine the exact meaning of Jubilees' citation of Num. 13:22, quoted also by Josephus.[15] We learn that the citation of Num. 13:22 was not intended, as might be interpreted in Jubilees 13:11, to refer to the number of years that the patriarch spent in Egypt, but to the two years of his stay in Hebron plus the five years

[11] Jub. 13:13–15.

[12] That Jub. 13:11–15 intentionally conceals Abram's deception of Pharaoh has been frequently pointed out. See Charles' comments.

[13] Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 9–10, reading, with Fitzmyer, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 22 (1960), 287, . . . תמן [תרחין שנ]ין], in the beginning of line 10.

[14] Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 23; XXII, 28–29.

[15] *AJ*, I, 170: *λαβὼν δ' αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταλελειμμένην ὑπώρειαν ᾤκει ἐν τῇ Ναβρῶ πόλει· παλαιοτέρα δὲ ἐστιν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ Τάνιδος τῆς Αἰγύπτου.* Josephus' words do not necessarily imply that these two cities were being built when the patriarch visited them, still this is probably Josephus' meaning, unless we assume that he copied the reference to Num. 13:22 without understanding it. In *BJ*, IV, 530, Josephus says that Hebron is not only older than any other Canaanite city but also older than Memphis, built 2300 years ago, counting from A. D. 68, Hebron being older by seven years. Josephus' failure to mention that the city was built when Abram settled there (*BJ*, IV, 530 f.), though he does mention the patriarch, indicates that unlike Jubilees and Genesis Apocryphon he understood Num. 13:22 to refer merely to the relative age of Hebron and Tanis (Memphis in *BJ*, IV, 530). This is also the view of the talmudic tradition, indicating that Josephus was sometimes influenced by the rabbinic tradition rather than by the exegesis preserved at Qumran.

when Sarai was concealed in Egypt. The patriarch lived in Zoan two years after its foundation just as he did in Hebron. As neither Gen. 12:9–20 nor Num. 13:22 hints at such a time scale, the time balance in the patriarch's sojourns must be credited to the author of Genesis Apocryphon.

Jubilees merely adds a chronology to the scriptural account, but Genesis Apocryphon weaves also a romance around Gen. 12:11–20. The author of the Aramaic scroll gives the exact route of the patriarch's itinerary and tells of a dream informing him of the impending kidnaping of Sarai.[16] We are not told anything of the events that happened during the five years of Sarai's concealment.[17] Evidently, nothing did. However, a substantial part of column XIX and the entire column XX are devoted to the adventures that occurred during the two years of Sarai's seizure. Though the text is missing, it seems that the completion of Zoan, named after Pharaoh Zoan,[18] ultimately caused Sarai's appearance. During the festivities, as the patriarch was entertained, in an Eastern fashion, by three Egyptian officials, "wisdom" as well as drinks was exchanged.[19] Having found Sarai's place of concealment, they admired her extraordinary beauty as they beheld her naked, which they unanimously reported to Pharaoh Zoan.[20] Taken to the house of the king, El Elyon's[21] punishment was swift and very severe, including plagues for which the royal magicians and healers could find no remedy. It was only when Sarai was restored to her husband and when Abram placed his hand on

[16] Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 8–22.

[17] Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 23.

[18] Pharaoh Zoan is the name given to the king (Gen. Apocryphon, XIX, 24; XX, 14. XIX, 22: ושׂרי לפנה לצען ". . . and Sarai towards Zoan," evidently refers to the city built by Pharaoh Zoan rather than to the prince. The author may have made a slip as Zoan was not yet completed (XIX, 23), but as the context is missing, it is not entirely clear what is meant.

[19] Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 24 ff. "Three men from the princes of Egypt," (XIX, 24), one of whom is subsequently identified as חרכנוש (ḤRQNWŠ). It is generally assumed that ḤRQNWŠ is a proper name, sometimes identified as one of the Tobiads or Hasmoneans. This is unwarranted for the scroll does not otherwise contain contemporary names. ḤRQNWŠ is possibly the title of the leading officer who found Sarai and an early transcription of ἄρχον or, as is more likely, ὀρχώνης. The latter signifies a collector of revenue, a meaning that conforms to 'aggadic traditions that Sarai was seized by custom officers (Gen. Rabbah, 40, pp. 384 f.; *Sefer Hayashar*, [Warsaw, 1928], 42). See also Wacholder, *HUCA*, XXXIV (1963), 109 f.

[20] Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 24–27; XX, 2–8.

[21] The use of Elyon throughout the scroll (XII, 17; XX, 12, 16; XXI, 2, 20), excluding the passages where its usage is expected (XXII, 15, 16 bis, 21), indicates that Genesis Apocryphon is to be dated during the second century B. C., perhaps, because of its affinities with, at the same time as Daniel.

Pharaoh Zoan's head that the evil spirit disappeared. Upon leaving Egypt, the patriarch was showered with gifts, not the least of which was Hagar the Egyptian.[22]

Genesis Apocryphon is primarily a literary work. But like Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon is deeply concerned with chronological problems. This becomes particularly evident from its paraphrase of Gen. 15:1: "After these things the Lord appeared to Abram in a vision and said to him: 'Ten years have been completed since the day you left Haran, two years you have passed here, seven in Egypt, and one year since you have returned from Egypt.' "[23] The author's heavy emphasis on the chronological problem is indicated by his making the Lord himself reiterate the scheme. Why this constant reiteration?

It is conceivable that the author of Genesis Apocryphon was aware of another chronological scheme that he attempts to refute. The talmudic and midrashic literature follow a completely different scheme from that found in Jubilees and in the Genesis Apocryphon. The rabbinic dating is said to be implied in the Mishnah: "A man must not refrain from procreation, unless he already has children; the School of Shammai says, two males; the School of Hillel says, a male and a female, for it is written: 'Male and female he created them.' If a man married a woman and lived with her ten years, but she had not given birth to a child, he may no longer refrain from procreation,"[24] i. e., he shall marry another woman. To which the Tosefta adds: "Although there is no proof for this, there is an allusion to it: ['and Sarai the wife of Abram took Hagar the Egyptian, her maid], at the end of ten years that Abram had dwelt in the land of Canaan, [and she gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife'] (Gen. 16:3). Incidentally, we learn that the time of living outside of the Holy Land is not to be counted in the computation."[25] The argument of the Tosefta, repeated in the Bab. and Yer. Talmud, is that the patriarch spent ten full years in Canaan.[26] The proof text is Gen. 16:3: "At the end of ten years that Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan." And as Abraham was seventy-five years old when he entered Canaan (Gen. 12:4); and as he was eighty-six when Ishmael was born (Gen. 16:16), it follows that he could not have stayed in Egypt seven years and at the same time have spent ten full years in Canaan.

To the objection that the patriarch spent at least part of these

[22] Genesis Apocryphon, XX, 8–34.
[23] Genesis Apocryphon, XXII, 27–29.
[24] Mishnah, Yevamoth, 6, 6.
[25] Tosefta, Yevamoth, 8, 4.
[26] Yer. Yevamoth, 6, 6; Bab. Yevamoth, 64a; Gen. Rabbah, 45, p. 449.

ten years in Egypt, the Seder 'Olam[27] offers a detailed chronology: "Abraham our ancestor was seventy years old when He spoke to him of the covenant 'between the pieces,'[28] for it is written: 'And it was at the end of thirty and four hundred years, on that very day, the hosts of the Lord left Egypt.' (Exod. 12:41). After He had spoken to him, Abraham went down to Haran and spent there five years, for it is written: 'And Abram was seventy-five years old when he left Haran' (Gen. 12:4). . . . That year when Abraham our father left Haran was also the year of the famine, and he went down to Egypt, where he spent three months. And he went up and arrived and settled in the Plains of Mamre which was in Hebron. And that year was also the time that he defeated the kings. And he dwelt there ten years before marrying Hagar, for it is written: 'And Sarai the wife of Abram took Hagar the Egyptian her maid, at the end of ten years that Abram had dwelt in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife' (Gen. 16:3). And it is also written: 'And Abram was eighty and six years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram.' " (Gen. 16:16).[29]

As a rule the Seder 'Olam cites familiar verses either to bring out an obscure point or to refute a rival chronological scheme. Otherwise this work assumes that the reader is familiar with the relevant scriptural references. It is possible then that its citations of Gen. 16:3, 16, were intended to refute the chronology found in Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. As already indicated, the Genesis Apocryphon makes the Lord himself attest to the correctness of its chronology.

Whether or not the hypothesis of a dialogue between the chronographers found in the Seder 'Olam and the traditions preserved in the Genesis Apocryphon is correct, there is no doubt that the rabbinic literature — Mishnah, Tosefta, Bab. and Yer. Talmud, Midrash Rabbah — presume the detailed chronology of Seder 'Olam.[30] Accord-

[27] Seder 'Olam Rabbah, ed. B. Ratner (Wilno, 1897), inadequate as it is, has been used. See Albeck's comments in his Hebrew edition of Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vortrage der Juden historisch entwickelt* (Jerusalem, 1947), 267 f. For the authorship of Seder 'Olam, see below note 44.

[28] For the rabbinic reasoning that assumed two journeys from Haran, see below.

[29] Seder 'Olam, I, pp. 4–6.

[30] In addition to the sources cited in note 26, see Mekhilta, *Bo*, 14; Tanhuma, *Bo*, 9; Middot deRabbi Eliezer, 32; Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer, 48; *Sefer Hayashar* (Warsaw, 1927), 38; Midrash Tadshe ed. Jellinek, *Beit Hamidrash*, III (Leipzig, 1855), 173; ed. Epstein (Vienna, 1887), p. XXV. This section of *Tadshe* evidently emanates from the rabbinic tradition rather than from the sectarian part, to which many sections of this Midrash belong. See below. This chronological scheme remained the basic belief of Jewish chroniclers throughout the mediaeval period. It was first challenged by Azariah dei Rossi, *Me'or 'Einayyim* (Wilno, 1866), 289 ff.,

ing to the rabbinic school, immediately after his second arrival to Canaan from Haran[31] Abram left for Egypt, where he stayed only three months. Returning to Hebron, he made war against Chedorlaomer and his allies; ten years later he married Hagar the Egyptian.[32] However, according to the Rabbis, God's covenant with Abram, described in chapter 16 of Genesis, refers to the patriarch's *first* visit to Canaan at the age of seventy.[33] Possibly, it was the complete lack of biblical evidence for the talmudic assumption of two visits to Canaan, that discredited this theory in the eyes of ancient chronographers. It is certain, however, that talmudic chronography for the patriarchal period differed substantially from that of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees.[34]

Aside from being considered the first date of Hebrew history, the dating of Abram's journey to Haran and Egypt was also the starting point of the entire biblical chronology. It was the basis for determining the date of the Exodus. As is well known, the masoretic text of Exod. 12:40 gives 430 years as the length of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt. This is emended in LXX and Samaritan versions, and is interpreted in the rabbinic tradition, to refer from the time of Abram. The main difficulty is that in Gen. 15:13, the Lord tells Abram: "Your seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs and they shall serve them and they shall oppress them 400 years." The biblical writers, as pointed out by ibn Ezra, were not too concerned with dates.[35] But beginning with the Hellenistic period when chronography became a specialty, the difference between Gen. 15:13 and Exod. 12:40 was a stumbling block for establishing a chronology of the early period

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who also cites the mediaeval authors who dissented from the chronology of the Seder 'Olam.

[31] The date of Abram's supposed first exit from Haran is not mentioned in the Seder 'Olam, but is preserved in the talmudic literature, an indication that the Seder 'Olam, as we know it, contains but a part of the rabbinic chronographic tradition. See 'Avodah Zarah, 9a; *Sefer Hayashar*, 27; cf. Ratner, note 22 on Seder 'Olam, p. 4.

[32] Seder 'Olam, I, pp. 5–6.

[33] Seder 'Olam, I, p. 4; III, pp. 13 ff. See also Mekhilta, *Bo*, 14, p. 50 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin); Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer, 48; Tanḥuma, on Exod. 12:40; *Sefer Hayashar* (Warsaw, 1927), 38; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Exod. 12:41; Yalkut, *Lekh lekha*, 77.

[34] See the sources cited in the previous note.

[35] Ibn Ezra on Exod. 12:40, pointing out that many biblical dates are obscure because the starting point is not known. Thus the precise starting point of the 430 years is not given. That it could not have referred to Jacob's coming into Egypt was shown by the rabbinic commentators that even assuming the maximum possible number of years of Qehath, Amram and Moses (133+137+80=350), it would still be short 80 years for the number of 430.

of the Israelites. The rabbis reconciled these differences by postulating 430 years from the time of Abram's vision, when he was seventy years old, to the Exodus; from the time of Isaac's birth, 400. The Book of Jubilees, however, gives 430 years from Isaac's birth to the Exodus.[36] We do not know whether the author of Genesis Apocryphon discussed the date of the Exodus or even whether his account treated the period of Egypt. But the odds are that he did and that his chronology was identical with that of Jubilees.[37] As the date of the vision in Gen. 15:1 ff., determined the time of the Exodus in Egypt, Genesis Apocryphon makes the Lord himself confirm the chronology.[38]

It follows that the differences between the chronologies of the Seder 'Olam and Genesis Apocryphon represent two schools of pentateuchal chronography. Not only is the Book of Jubilees part of the sectarian school, but works such as the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, *Midrash Tadshe*, and *Sefer Hayashar* have preserved some of the sectarian traditions.[39] It is no coincidence that the life spans assigned to Jacob's twelve sons by these works are roughly identical.[40] It may be assumed that the author of Genesis Apocryphon's dating for the later period, if his account continued to the times of the Exodus, corresponded to chronology of the sectarian school.

The existence of a Graeco-Jewish school of biblical chronography first becomes evident in LXX, Exod. 12:40, where the date given in the masoretic text is emended.[41] A detailed presentation of the text as emended has been preserved. Demetrius computed that the number given in Exod. 12:40, 430, is to be divided into two equal parts, 215 years from Abram's arrival to Canaan until Jacob's descent into Egypt

[36] According to Jubilees, Isaac's birth occurred in, or within a year of, 1980 A. M. See Jub. 15:1, accepting, with Charles, Dillmann's emendation; 16:13; 17:1. For some of this author's chronographic negligence, see E. Wiesenberg, "The Jubilee of Jubilees," *Revue de Qumran*, III (1961), 34–36. This negligence would seem to suggest that the writer was copying a chronological scheme he did not understand fully. For the date of the Exodus, 2410 A. M., see Jub. 50:4; cf. 48:1.

[37] In the absence of an indication to the contrary, it must be assumed that Genesis Apocryphon's account continued to the Exodus. That the Exodus was the termination point may be drawn from the treatment in the Book of Jubilees.

[38] Genesis Apocryphon, XXII, 27–29.

[39] See Albeck in Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vortrage* [Hebrew ed.], 136–40.

[40] See the dates of Jacob's twelve sons as given in Jub., Test. of XII Patriarchs, and Midrash Tadshe, arranged in tables by Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London, 1902), 28:11–24, n., pp. 170–72.

[41] Also in the Samaritan text. That Exod. 12:40 was revised by LXX is frequently mentioned in the talmudic literature; Yer. Megillah, I, 71c; Bab. Megillah 9a; Mekhilta, *Bo*, 14 (Horovitz-Rabin), p. 50; Soferim, V, 7–8; Sefer Torah, I, 8; Tanḥuma, *Shemoth*, 22; (Buber), 19.

and 215 years to the Exodus.[42] The chronographers of this school lengthened the time of Abram's stay in Egypt, perhaps comparing it to Jacob's journey to Egypt. And since the time from Abram's to Jacob's journey was almost the same as from Jacob's journey to the Exodus, chronologically speaking, Egypt became the apex of an equilateral triangle.[43]

In some respects we know less of the history of sectarian or rabbinic chronography than that of the Graeco-Jewish school. The talmudic writers had as their source the chronographic work preserved mainly in the Seder 'Olam.[44] Though generally attributed to Rabbi Jose ben Ḥalafta (*circa* A. D. 150), the Seder 'Olam must instead be considered a depository of pharisaic chronographic traditions.[45] But nothing is known of the original authors of these traditions.[46] We are somewhat better informed concerning the Hellenistic school. Chronography became an important field of study during the third century B. C. in Alexandria and elsewhere when Greek and Egyptian chronicles were subjected to a close and systematic scrutiny. The works of Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Manetho of Sebennystus, and perhaps Berossus of Babylon,[47] may have been among those writings which inspired the Jew

[42] Demetrius, 722 F 1 = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 21, 16–19, counts 25 years from Abram's entrance into Canaan to Isaac's birth; 60 years of Isaac till Jacob's birth; and 130 years, the age of Jacob when entering Egypt, making a total of 215 years in the land of Canaan. Demetrius' chronology for the stay in Egypt is more complex; Levi was 43 years old when Jacob and his sons entered Egypt, 17 years later Qehath was born; Qehath begat Amram at the age of 40; Amram, Moses, at the age of 78; Moses' age during the Exodus was 80, making a total of 215. There is little doubt that Demetrius had a preconceived total into which he fits his dates. Rabbinic tradition maintained that the stay in Egypt lasted 210 years. This was based on the assumption that Abram's first entrance into Canaan was at the age of 70. Hence, Abram stayed there 30 years; Isaac, 60; Jacob, 130, making a total of 220 years in Canaan, remaining 210 years for the stay in Egypt, for the grand total must be 430 (Exod. 12:40); see Seder 'Olam, III, pp. 13 f. In *AJ*, II, 318, Josephus follows Demetrius' chronology, but otherwise he is either not consistent or negligent or follows different sources. See Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 49, n.; von Destinon, *Die Chronologie des Josephus* (Kiel, 1880), 9–11.

[43] The Graeco-Jewish chronographers evidently assumed that the patriarch left for Egypt immediately after entering Canaan, which conforms to the rabbinic tradition and the impression of Gen. 12:1–20.

[44] Ratner maintains that the Mishnah and Tosefta made use of the Seder 'Olam. See his *Mavo lehaseder 'Olam*. But see Zunz and Albeck in *Gottesdienstliche Vortrage* [Hebrew ed.], p. 43, n. 8, pp. 267 f.

[45] See Yevamoth, 82b; Niddah, 46b; Ratner, *Mavo*, pp. 3 ff.

[46] Whether or not rabbinic chronography was influenced by the Hellenistic school is still an open question.

[47] For the history of Hellenistic chronography, Jacoby, *FGrH*, IID, 661 ff. For Eratosthenes, see *FGrH*, IIB, No. 241; Manetho, IIIC, No. 609; Berossus, No. 680.

Demetrius to undertake a searching study of the chronology of Genesis and possibly of the entire biblical period.[48] The date of Abram's journey to Canaan became to the Hellenistic Jewish writers what the fall of Troy was to the Greeks.

However, little is known of the sequence of the sectarian historiographic works. The Book of Jubilees was written, it is generally assumed, at the end of the second century B. C.; the date of Genesis Apocryphon is still an open question.[49] Which of the two sectarian works, the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, is dependent on the other?[50] Or must we postulate an unknown work used by both?

Although the chronology is the same in both works, the presentation is different. The most obvious difference is that Genesis Apocryphon uses a relative system of dating; Jubilees, an absolute one. Less obvious, but nevertheless real, differences are that in the former the dating is an integral part of the narrative; in the latter it is superimposed. The author of Genesis Apocryphon still feels the need to defend his chronology by invoking the Lord himself; the author of Jubilees takes the chronology for granted.[51] When the author of Jubilees does defend his scheme, it is the calendar which, he says, was "ordained on the heavenly tables."[52] It is evident that Jubilees invokes the authority of the "heavenly tables" on issues that need emphasis or that he considered controversial.[53] That the authority

[48] The extent of Demetrius' work is not known. But 722 F 6 would seem to indicate that it extended at least to the destruction of the first Temple in 586.

[49] For the date of Jubilees, see Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, pp. LVIII–LXVI. For that of Genesis Apocryphon, see Birnbaum, in *Bulletin of the School of the Oriental and African Studies*, 21 (1958), 185, who dates the script as of the third quarter of the first century B. C.; E. Y. Kutcher, "Dating of the Language of Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 288–92; "The Language of Genesis Apocryphon, a Preliminary Study," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 4 (1958), 1–35, assigns the language to the first century B. C., a view also maintained by J. A. Fitzmyer, *Catholic Bible Quarterly*, 22 (1960), 277–91. H. H. Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of Genesis Apocryphon," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies . . . . Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 116–29, maintains that its Aramaic antedates that of Daniel.

[50] The editors of Genesis Apocryphon, p. 38, concluded that it "may have served as a source for a number of stories told more concisely" in Enoch and Jubilees. Fitzmyer, see previous note, however, says: "we are inclined rather to regard the scroll as dependent on Jubilees and the Enoch literature," p. 277.

[51] Genesis Apocryphon, XXII, 27–29. Jub. 14:1, merely gives the date, without comment.

[52] Jub. 6:29; 31; cf. 3:10.

[53] For the meaning of "heavenly tables," see Charles, *The Book of Enoch* I (Oxford, 1912), 47:3; Jub. 3:10. The phrase usually is invoked (En. 47:3; 81:1, 2; 93:2; 103:2; Test. Levi 5:4; Asher 2:10; 7:5, some texts; Jub. 3:10, 31; 4:5, 32; 5:13; 6:17, 29, 35; 15:25, 26; 16:9, 29; 18:19; 23:32; 24:33; 28:6; 30:9, 20; 31:32; 32:15;

is not invoked in regard to his chronology indicates that Jubilees believed it to have been authoritative. It follows that the author of Jubilees made use of a chronology that had already gained support. The author of Genesis Apocryphon, however, was not certain that his chronology would be accepted. Hence it must be assumed that he was writing when the chronology was either still recent or was being challenged. However, the fact that Genesis Apocryphon did not make use of the calendar found in Jubilees indicates that he did not know that work. Since the chronology in the two works is identical, it follows, if one made use of the other, that Jubilees was dependent on Genesis Apocryphon. Certainly, Genesis Apocryphon is more "primitive," for it does not make use of an absolute era. The evidence thus far indicates that Genesis Apocryphon was written before the Book of Jubilees.

Although older, it does not follow that Genesis Apocryphon was the direct source of Jubilees' chronology. Concerned as the author of Genesis Apocryphon is with chronological problems, he is not a chronographer like some of the Hellenistic professionals in this field. That there were biblical chronographers we know from Demetrius and Justus of Tiberias and the Seder 'Olam. It must then be presumed that there still is missing a work with chronological tables used by both of these sectarian authors. The presumption of a missing link, however, is not very helpful. On the basis of available works, the chronology of Genesis Apocryphon is either directly or indirectly the source of Jubilees. And there is no question that there flourished a sectarian school of biblical chronography that differed in some respects from that of the Graeco-Jewish or the rabbinic writers.

As to the length of the patriarch's stay in Egypt, the rabbinic school maintained that it lasted only three months; the Graeco-Jewish writers, long enough to introduce the sciences into that country; the sectarians, a total of seven years, five during Sarai's concealment and two in Pharaoh's palace. Certainly, the rabbinic and the sectarian views are too different to be reconcilable.[54] But what about the

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33:10, 13) in Jub. to give emphasis to a point, either invoking the Pentateuch or to point out special punishment or authority.

[54] The chronographic differences between the rabbinic and Qumran schools seem to indicate that caution should be exercised before similarities between the schools are taken to be parallels, or even identical views. Cf. S. Hahn, "Zur Chronologie der Qumran-Schriften," *Acta Orientalia*, 9 (Budapest, 1960), 181–89, where the chronography of the Zadokite Documents is taken to be identical with that of the Seder 'Olam. The differences pointed out here are also intended to balance the impressions made by M. R. Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," *Revue du Qumran*, I (1958), 163–86.

Graeco-Jewish and the sectarian? Do they not present a similar position? The answer is yes. The patriarch's stay in Hebron and in the royal palace lasted two years, respectively, according to the sectarians. This view coincides with the statement of Pseudo-Eupolemus (200–150 B. C.), that the patriarch introduced the sciences first to the Canaanites and then to the Egyptians.[55] Since Gen. 12:11–20 gives the impression, confirmed by Gen. 16:3, that Abram's stay in Egypt was of a very short duration, the sectarians' presumption that it lasted many years must have been based on a strong belief that tended to invalidate these scriptural intimations. It is reasonable, then, to assume that the sectarians, like the Graeco-Jewish writers, believed in the patriarch's religious and educational mission to Canaan and Egypt. And it was this belief that influenced the sectarian chronographers. This assumption is now partially confirmed by Fitzmyer's decipherment of line XIX, 25, of Genesis Apocryphon: ". . . goodness, wisdom and truth and I [Abram] read to them [Egyptian officials] the book of the writings of Enoch."[56] As in several other instances, the wording is similar to Pseudo-Eupolemus, who says that Abraham, when instructing the Egyptians, attributed the scientific discoveries to Enoch. The assumption that the similarities are accidental is unwarranted. However, we do not know enough of the Graeco-Jewish and sectarian lore to describe the mutual influences. Only a rigorous dating of the relevant sectarian and Hellenistic Jewish literature could offer a solution.[57]

However, the differences between the sectarians and the Graeco-Jewish writers must not be forgotten. Pseudo-Eupolemus says that during his journey in Egypt the patriarch lived in Heliopolis.[58] As Genesis is silent on the exact location, what was the evidence for this identification? Parallels were drawn from Joseph and Moses. According to Gen. 41:50, Potiphar was the priest of On, in LXX, Heliopolis.[59]

[55] Pseudo-Eupolemus, 724 FF 1–2; *AJ*, I, 166–68. See also my comments, *HUCA*, XXXIV (1963), 83–113.

[56] טבתא וחכמתא וקושטא וכרית קודמיהון ל[כתב] מלי חנוך Genesis Apocryphon, XIX, 25, as deciphered by Fitzmyer, *Catholic Bible Quarterly*, 22 (1960), 288. My hypothesis that there was a connection between Pseudo-Eupolemus' mention of Enoch in his account of Abraham (724 FF 1–2) and Genesis Apocryphon's version of the patriarch's stay in Egypt (*HUCA*, XXXIV [1963], 109), was made before I became aware of Fitzmyer's decipherment.

[57] Cf. G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition* (Leiden, 1961), 80–82, 97.

[58] Pseudo-Eupolemus, 724 F 1, p. 679, line 10 = Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 17, 8.

[59] See also Demetrius, 722 F 1 = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 21, 12; Artapanus, 726 FF 2–3 = *Praep. Eccl.*, IX, 23, 3; 27, 8.

Manetho said, if Josephus is to be trusted, that Osarsiph (Moses) was a native of Heliopolis.[60] To the reasoning of the Hellenistic Jewish writers it followed that Abram also visited that place. Since Heliopolis was a famous priestly and intellectual center, the patriarch must have founded it.[61]

The sectarians, however, claimed that the patriarch stayed in Zoan (Tanis), as already indicated, citing Num. 13:22 as evidence. This conforms to the traditions preserved in Ps. 78:12, 43, as well as in the rabbinic literature. Ps. 78:12, 43, parallels the "field of Zoan" with Egypt. The talmudic and midrashic literature cites Isa. 30:4 that Zoan was the residence of Egypt's princes.[62] It would seem to follow that the Rabbis, too, assumed that the patriarch founded Zoan, or at least visited this town in Egypt.

A search of the talmudic and midrashic sources, however, has failed to substantiate this assumption, though the treatment on this point is abundant. In fact, Num. 13:22, taken by the sectarians to refer to the times of the patriarch, is interpreted in rabbinic works to suggest the times of Ham. The Rabbis take it for granted that Ham was the builder of both Hebron and Zoan. Num. 13:22, stating that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan, according to the talmudic writers, proved the superiority of Canaan over Egypt. In this argument, Zoan is presented as being the most fertile area of Egypt (Isa. 30:4); Hebron, as the least fruitful of Canaan, for it was chosen to be the patriarchal burial ground.[63] Since Ham built Hebron before he did Zoan and since it was inconceivable to the Rabbis that he would have utilized the less desirable land first, it followed that Hebron, the least fertile land of Canaan, was still superior to the best of Egypt. And since Egypt contained the most desirable land in the world (Gen. 13:10, probably reading Zoan),[64] the worst of Canaan is better than the best anywhere in the world. So certain were the talmudists of their argument that they reversed the order of birth of Ham's sons. Gen. 10:6 reads: "The sons of Ham are Cush and Miẓrayyim and Put and Canaan." This sequence, the Rabbis argued, could not be correct, for it would follow that Ham built a city for the youngest

[60] *C. Apion*, I, 250 = Manetho, 609 F 10, p. 96, lines 6–9, app. crit., Jacoby cites the literature questioning whether the identification of Osarsiph with Moses is that of Manetho. Cf. *Contra Apion*, I, 238, where Moses is not mentioned.

[61] Cf. Herod., II, 3.

[62] Kethuvoth, 112a; Soṭah, 34b; Sifre, *'Eqev*, 37.

[63] Cf. Gen. 23:1 ff.

[64] See Kittel in Biblia Hebraica, Gen. 13:10. The rabbinic sources (cited in next note) indicate that the reading was Zoan, attested in the Syriac.

before he did for his second son (Num. 3:22). Hence, Canaan was not the youngest, they said, but the oldest son of Ham.[65]

Although this study is limited to a minor episode, it is reasonable to argue that the views reflected here mirror roughly the three schools of ancient biblical historiography. All three schools accepted the thesis of Canaan's superiority over Egypt. The Hellenistic Jewish writers were sometimes the farthest removed from the literal history of Genesis. They expanded or contracted the account of Genesis to conform to contemporary concepts of the world. The wish to make the history of Genesis more current is also evident in the sectarian literature. But unlike the Hellenistic Jewish literature contrary passages are not silenced. Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees attempt to reconcile the passages that seemed to indicate a different view from that which they presented. Rabbinic exegesis, though very subjective, was the least *au courant*. Interested in exegesis rather than in history, the reconciliation of contradictory verses became an end in itself, no matter how improbable these reconciliations were. Rabbinic thought was farther removed from Graeco-Jewish than were sectarian interpretations. It is remarkable that there is such a close parallel between the Graeco-Jewish and sectarian biblical exegesis.

[65] Kethuvoth, 112a; Sotah 34b; Sifre, *'Eqev*, 37; Num. Rabbah, 16; Tanḥuma, Shelaḥ, 8.

STUDIES IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF THE BOOK OF JOB*

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Chapter V

The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint of Job: The Text and the Script

NO ONE has ever described the Septuagint translation of our Book as slavish or literal; but by the same token it is equally erroneous to describe it — as so many have done in the past — as a "willful" translation, "often unintelligible," "Le plus souvent . . . une paraphrase ou une explication . . . une traduction vague . . .," one which "often degenerates into a loose paraphrase," and the like (cf. Chap. II, n. 1, pp. 229 f.). As we attempted to demonstrate in our chapter (II) on "The Character of the Septuagint of . . . Job," insufficient attention had been paid to the manner in which the translator reproduced positive, negative, interrogative, rhetorical, optative, and similar clauses; not infrequently, the Greek differed from the preserved Hebrew not because the former derived from a reading different from that preserved in the latter, or because the latter is corrupt, but because the translator rendered his Hebrew text interpretatively.

Again, there are passages where the Greek differs from the preserved Hebrew simply because the former is corrupt; I have dealt with some of these in Chap. IV, "The Present State of the Greek Text of Job" — though there must be additional corruptions in the Septuagint text that no one has yet discerned or proved.

* Chapter I, "An Analytical Survey of Previous Studies," appeared in this *Annual*, XXVIII (1957), 53–74; Chapter II, "The Character of the Septuagint Translation of the Book of Job," in XXIX (1958), 229–71; Chapter III, "On the Matter of Anthropomorphisms, Anthropopathisms, Alleged Concept of Afterlife, and Charges Against or Involving God," in XXX (1959), 153–67 and XXXII (1961), 239–68; Chapter IV, "The Present State of the Greek Text of Job," in XXXIII (1962), 119–51.

There remain numerous passages in our Book where there can be no doubt that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint differed from the preserved Hebrew text — our so-called masoretic text; and in a number of these instances it is not even possible to reconstruct the *Vorlage* with any confidence; cf., e. g., our discussion of 9.14–16 (chap. III C, § **10** cd, pp. 257–8), where the statement is made "that our translator's *Vorlage* may not have been identical with the masoretic text . . . . It is safest to leave the problem without solution, without emendation (either of MT or LXX), and without accusation." In such cases it would require the discovery of such a text as that of the books of Samuel among the Dead Sea Scrolls — as a result of which the relationship between the Septuagint and the preserved Hebrew text has become very much clearer than anyone had ever thought possible — to help solve these obscurities.[1]

Yet the proper appreciation of the character of the Septuagint of our Book does help us to determine in a number of instances the reading in the Hebrew text used by the translator, where formerly he was — impatiently and mechanically, even scornfully — blamed for misunderstanding or misreading, even falsifying his Hebrew text.

It is our good fortune that the masoretes preserved variant readings as members of the Kethib-Qere system. This source will be of some considerable help in determining the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

Finally, in the process of trying to fix the reading in the LXX-*Vorlage*, it will become necessary to deal with the script in which that *Vorlage* was written.

A.

1. 4.5 (כִּי־עַתָּה, תָּבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ) וַתֵּלֶא תִּגַּע (עָדֶיךָ וַתִּבָּהֵל) / (*νῦν δὲ ἥκει ἐπὶ σὲ*) *πόνος καὶ ἥψατο* (*σου, σὺ δὲ ἐσπούδασας*), "(Yet now) distress has come upon you and touched (you, and you have become troubled)." According to Beer, "𝔊 macht תלא zum Subjekt von תבוא, weil ihm das in Sinne des Neutrums gebrauchte Fem. תבוא unverständlich war." This explanation — due essentially to a lack of appreciation of the character of the Greek translation of Job — is scarcely acceptable for two reasons: (1) on several occasions in our Book, the Septuagint

[1] See, e. g., my chapter (V) on "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," pp. 113–32 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (the Albright *Festschrift*), ed. G. E. Wright (New York, 1961), § II, especially pp. 120–21 (= *JBL*, 78 [1959], 26 ff.). From the data graciously made available to me by Frank M. Cross, Jr., it would appear that the Job fragments from Qumran 4 will be of very little help in the reconstruction of the LXX *Vorlage* of our Book.

comprehended the impersonal or indefinite use of the verb (e. g., 3.13, כי־עתה שכבתי ואשקוט ישנתי [אז ינוח לי] / [*νῦν ἂν κοιμηθεὶς ἡσύχασα, ὑπνώσας*] *δὲ ἀνεπαυσάμην*), and its use here is rather obvious; (2) even assuming that the translator had missed the force of תבוא, it is far less likely that he would have turned ותלא into a noun as subject of תבוא rather than have "adjusted" תבוא in context; cf., e. g., Saadia (ואלאן חין נאתך מתל אלאמור קד עוֹת (וחין וצלת אליך קד דהשת.

Not enough attention has been paid to the fact that for תִּגַּע the LXX has *καὶ ἥψατο* which is = וַתִּגַּע;[2] and this, in conjunction with *ἥκει* (*ἐπὶ σὲ*) *πόνος*, justifies the assumption that the translator read: כי עתה תבוא אליך תְּלָאָה ותגע עדיך ותבהל, with the noun תלאה serving both תבוא and ותגע as subject. (It may be noted here that Kenn 384 reads תלא instead of ותלא.)

Between the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and the preserved text, the latter would seem to be preferred, chiefly because of the parallelism: תבוא אליך ותלא // תגע עדיך ותבהל; yet it should be noted that the preserved Hebrew text lacks a distinct subject for תבוא, and the LXX-*Vorlage* has a subject and reads well.

2. 4.20 (יאבדו) מִבֹּקֶר לְעֶרֶב יֻכַּתּוּ (מבקר לערב יכתו) / (*καὶ ἀπὸ πρωίθεν ἕως ἑσπέρας οὐκέτι εἰσίν,*) *παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς βοηθῆσαι* (*ἀπώλοντο*), "without being able to help themselves (they perished)." According to A. Tromm[3] (followed by J. C. Biel[4]), *βοηθῆσαι* represents מְשִׁים and *δύνασθαι* stands for לְנֶצַח. Schleusner[5] and Beer[6] regard מבלי משים לנצח as the LXX *Vorlage*; Merx, Ball, and Dhorme presuppose a reading מבלי משיע לנצח, Merx and Dhorme emending the preserved text accordingly.

It is hardly likely, however, that 𝔊 read לְנֶצַח: (1) the root נצח has no such meaning as *βοηθεῖν*, so that the latter was never employed for the former anywhere in the LXX; (2) three times elsewhere in our Book (14.20; 20.7; 23.7) לְנֶצַח was translated *εἰς τέλος* (36.7,

[2] Cf. Beer (BH[3]), "l c 𝔊 𝔖 וַתִּגַּע" — but ignoring וַתֵּלֶא / *πόνος*.

[3] *Concordantiae Graecae Versionis, Vulgo dictae LXX interpretum*, etc., 2 vols. (1718), ed. B. de Montfaucon, s. *βοηθέω* (I, p. 272b, § 2) = הַשִּׁים; s. *δύναμαι* (I, 415a, § 12) = לְנֶצַח.

[4] *Novus Thesaurus Philologicus, sive Lexicon in LXX et alios Interpretes et Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, 3 vols. (1779–1780), ed. E. H. Mutzenbecher, s. *βοηθέω* (I, 297 top), *δύναμαι* (I, p. 430).

[5] S. *βοηθέω* (I, 572): Ita *Bielius Trommium* secutus, sed perperam. Nam *βοηθῆσαι* h. l. potius respondet hebr. לְנֶצַח, pro quo legerunt לְנֶצַח in infin. Pih. quod est *corroborare, fortificare*, et iunxerunt istud antecedenti voci מְשִׁים.

[6] "*παρὰ τ. μ. δύν. αὐτοὺς* = מבלי משים, *ἑαυτ. βοηθῆσαι* = לְנֶצַח (Drus.)." I have not had direct access to Drusius' work.

εἰς νῖκος, is Theodotionic; and 34.36 is too full of unsolved difficulties to be of help here).

As to מבלי משיע לנצח, it is to be noted that forms of the root ישע occur several times in our Book, yet none is reproduced by a form of *βοηθέω*; *σώζειν* — *σωτηρία* is the usual equivalent. Thus (יִרְחֲקוּ בָנָיו) מִיֵּשַׁע in 5.4 is reproduced by *ἀπὸ σωτηρίας*; in 13.16 לִישׁוּעָה (גַּם הוּא־לִי) and in 30.15 יְשׁוּעָתִי (וּכְעָב עָבְרָה) became respectively (*καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται*) *εἰς σωτηρίαν* and *ἡ σωτηρία μου*; and in 40.14 (לְךָ יִמִּינֶךָ) כִּי־תוֹשִׁיעַ was rendered *ὅτι δύναται* (*ἡ δεξιά σου*) *σῶσαι*. In the remaining passages in our Book where the root ישע occurs, in 5.11 שָׁגְבוּ יֵשַׁע (לָשׁוּם שְׁפָלִים לְמָרוֹם וְקוּדְרִים) became (*τὸν ποιοῦντα* ["Him who makes," going back to *κύριον* in verse 8b and parallel to *τὸν ποιοῦντα* in 9a and *τὸν διδόντα . . . ἀποστέλλοντα* in v. 10] *ταπεινοὺς εἰς ὕψος καὶ ἀπολωλότας*) *ἐξεγείροντα*;[7] 5.15 (וַיֵּשַׁע מֵחֶרֶב מִפִּיהֶם / *ἀπόλοιντο δὲ ἐν πολέμω*) is too difficult to be of help to us. In 26.2, *τίνι πρόσκεισαι ἢ τίνι μέλλεις βοηθεῖν . . . πότερον οὐχ ᾧ πολλὴ ἰσχὺς καὶ ᾧ βραχίων κραταιός ἐστιν*; for מָה־עָזַרְתָּ לְלֹא־כֹחַ הוֹשַׁעְתָּ זְרוֹעַ לֹא־עֹז is too free for us to determine whether *βοηθεῖν* stands for עזרת or for הושעת; ordinarily, *βοηθεῖν* would represent עזר, and a form of *σώζειν* would represent ישע. In 22.2 (*καὶ κύφοντα ὀφθαλμοῖς*) *σώσει* for יוֹשֵׁעַ (וְשַׁח עֵינַיִם) is Theodotionic.[8]

Coming back to our original problem, it would seem more likely that our translator did not comprehend מבלי משים as an ellipsis for מבלי משים לב — so already, e. g., Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ralbag (see Chap. II, n. 20) — and rendered from the context "without being able to help themselves." Our translator was given to this kind of "explanatory" rendering; cf., e. g., — again involving בלי — 24.8 וּמִבְלִי מַחְסֶה (חבקו־צור) / *παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σκέπην* (*πέτραν περιεβάλοντο*) and 40.14 — again with *δυνασθαι* / *δυνατος* — (כי) תושע (לְךָ יִמִּינֶךָ) / (*ὅτι*) *δύναται* (*ἡ δεξιά σου*) *σῶσαι*.[9]

As to לנצח, it was seen above that it was reproduced literally elsewhere in our Book by *εἰς τέλος*, and this includes a passage strikingly like our own, viz., 20.7 (כְּגַלְלוֹ) לָנֶצַח יֹאבֵד (רָאָיו יֹאמְרוּ אָיִו) (*ὅταν γὰρ δοκῇ ἤδη κατεστηρίχθαι*) *τότε εἰς τέλος ἀπολεῖται* (*οἱ δὲ*

[7] Although Beer ("ישע > 𝔊") and others regard ישע as having been left out by the translator, I am inclined to agree with Schleusner (s. *ἐξγείρω*) that the single word *εξεγειροντας* does duty for both Hebrew words, שגבו ישע. In 36.22, (הָרְאֵל) יַשְׁגִּיב (בְּכֹחָו) / (*ἰδοὺ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς*) *κραταιώσει* (*ἐν ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ*) is Theodotionic.

[8] In 6.13, Schleusner, Beer, and others have assumed that *βοήθεια* derives from תשועה in place of preserved תּוּשִׁיָּה. However, I have already noted above (Chap. II, § 18, p. 270) that *βοηθεια* represents תושיה in the light of parallel עֶזְרָה.

[9] Our translator availed himself freely of the root *δυναμαι*; see, e. g., at 7.20 (§ 6) below.

ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐροῦσιν ποῦ ἐστιν;); this disposes of the attempt of A. L. G. Krehls[10] to account for the absence of לנצח in the LXX of our verse: "LXX . . . omiserunt לָנֶצַח, ne qua homines aeternum perituri dicerentur." As a matter of fact, if our translator had been moved for some reason to reproduce לנצח more smoothly than by the hebraism *εις τελος*, he could readily have resorted to something like *ὀλόρριζοι ἀπώλοντο* (=נִכְחֲדוּ, in 4.7; cf. Prov. 15.6; Esther 3.13 [*ἀπολέσαι ὁλορριζεί*; addition 3.13 f in ed. Rahlfs]).

There is, in addition, this important fact: Kenn 196 lacks לנצח altogether. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX of our verse lacked לנצח.

3. 5.8 (אָשִׁים דִּבְרָתִי וְאֶל־אֱלֹהִים אֶדְרֹשׁ אֲנִי אוּלָם) / (*οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ διηθήσομαι κυρίου,*) *κύριον δὲ τὸν πάντων δεσπότην* (*ἐπικαλέσομαι*). Four independent lines of reasoning make it certain not only that the Hebrew *Vorlage* differed from our preserved text but also that it is closer to the original.

(1) In the first place, אלהים — which occurs 17 times in our Book — is reproduced by either *θεός* or *κύριος*,[11] never by *ὁ πάντων δεσπότης* (or, as Codex Alexandrinus has it, *παντοκράτορα*). On the other hand, *ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας* (8.3) or *παντοκράτωρ* is the term employed for שַׁדַּי when it is parallel to any of אֵל, אֱלוֹהַּ, and אֱלֹהִים and when any of these three terms for God was rendered by *κύριος* (5.17; 8.5; 11.7; 15.25; 22.17; 23.16; 27.11, 13; 34.10, 12; 35.13) or *θεός* (27.2; 33.4).[12] Since *τὸν πάντων δεσπότην* reproduces the force of שַׁדַּי as reflected by *παντο κράτωρ* and *ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας*,[13] there can be little doubt that our translator's Hebrew text included the word שדי and read ואל אלהים שדי אשים דברתי.[14]

[10] *Observationes ad Interpretes Graecos ac Latinos Veteres Libri Jobi Criticae* (Leipzig, 1834).

[11] Except in 38.7, where בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (וַיָּרִיעוּ כָל־) was rendered (*ἤνεσάν με φωνῇ μεγάλῃ πάντες*) *ἄγγελοί μου*.

[12] When any of these terms for God was either left untranslated (6.4; 13.3) or was paraphrased (20.26, אֶל־אֱלוֹהַּ / *εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*; cf. Isa. 14.13), שַׁדַּי was reproduced by *κύριος*. Neither שדי nor אלוה in 27.10 appears in the LXX. 31.2 and 40.2 are Theodotionic.

[13] Our translator, by the way, stands all alone in the Greek Old Testament in employing *παντοκράτωρ* for שַׁדַּי.

[14] W. F. Hufnagel, *Hiob* (Erlangen, 1781), *ad loc.*, suggested וְאֵל אֶל שַׁדַּי as the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. W. W. Grafen Baudissin, *KYRIOS als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. O. Eissfeldt (4 vols., Giessen, 1926–29), Vol. I, p. 253, n. 6, was content with the statement: "(mit dem Zusatz *τὸν πάντων δεσπότην*, 𝔖 *παντοκράτορα*); der Übersetzer scheint gelesen zu haben שדי."

(2) A close investigation of the various terms for God — אל, אלוה, אלהים, שדי, אדני — leads to a very interesting and clear-cut conclusion, viz., no two of אל, אלוה, and אלהים are used in parallel stichs: the regular correspondent for any one of the three is שדי (5.17; 6.4; 8.3, 5; 11.7; 13.3; 15.25; 22.17, 26; 23.16; 27.2, 10, 11, 13; 31.2; 33.4; 34.10, 12; 35.13; 40.2).

There are two cases of exception to this phenomenon: in 12.6 the correspondent to אל is אלוה,[15] and in 20.9 מאלהים is paralleled by מאל.[16] However, these exceptions are only apparent, since scholars have long agreed — on grounds other than for the names of God — that the text of both verses is suspect; indeed, not only is the text difficult per se but the LXX differs from the preserved Hebrew text, among other places, precisely where the terms for God are concerned.[17]

Thus the author of the Greek translation and the author of the original Hebrew of Job agree independently that the original text of our verse contained שדי in the second stich.

(3) This conclusion is buttressed very considerably by the fact that Kenn 223, which betrays no influence of the LXX,[18] has preserved the term שדי אלהים: שדי אלהים אשים (in place of אלהים אשים).

(4) It has only insufficiently been noted that one of the characteristic aspects of the literary structure of the dialogue speeches of Job (chap. 3–31) is the manner in which a statement by Job or one of his three friends is picked up, sometimes virtually verbatim, either by the

[15] It should be noted that it is not only this verse, but also the three preceding verses, that is troublesome (cf., e. g., [Driver-] Gray and Beer). Of the six stichs that make up verses 3 and 4, only two are found in the Septuagint. Concerning v. 5, Gray writes, "the verse is curiously phrased, of unusual rhythmical form, and the text cannot be implicitly trusted."

[16] This verse is metrically difficult and אֵל(מָ) is rendered only here in the entire Bible (*παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*; אֵל occurs 55 times in Job (of which 7 are in Theodotionic passages and translated *ἰσχυρός*) and is regularly equated with *κύριος* (with *θεός* only in 27.2, 9; 33.4). The original reading in our verse probably approximated 27.13 and 31.2 where שַׁדַּי parallels אֵל and אֱלוֹהַּ respectively.

It is clear that the validity of our own argument does not depend on whether these two passages (12.6 and 20.29) are corrupt or not.

[17] (Driver-)Gray's statement (Introduction, p. xliii), "Where in each line of a distich a divine name is used . . . a marked preference is shown for שַׁדַּי as one of the two," should therefore probably be emended to ". . . שַׁדַּי is always one of the two."

[18] Having once made a private study of Kenn 248 to discover whether its reading בעיניהם at 32.1 (the received text has בעיני) was due to septuagintal influence (*ἐναντίον αὐτῶν*) or to a Hebrew prototype differing from the masoretic recension (the manuscript incidentally agrees with the Septuagint as opposed to the received text only at this point), the writer compared Kenn 223 with the Septuagint and received texts in various passages where the last two differ from each other and where the influence of the Greek was most likely to be felt; no such influence was noted.

original speaker or in one of the rebuttal speeches which follow, often in the speech immediately following.[19] In our case, it is Job who picks up, in 13.3, Eliphaz's statement of 5.8, when he retorts to Zophar's plea in chap. 11 (cf., e. g., v. 5, וְאוּלָם מִי־יִתֵּן אֱלוֹהַּ דַּבֵּר וְיִפְתַּח שְׂפָתָיו עִמָּךְ) with the assertion: אוּלָם אֲנִי אֶל־שַׁדַּי אֲדַבֵּר וְהוֹכֵחַ אֶל־אֵל אֶחְפָּץ — with אל and שדי as the parallel terms for God.[20]

But the translator's Hebrew *Vorlage* of the second half of our verse, ואל אלהים שדי אשים דברתי, cannot yet be regarded as the original reading, for two reasons: (a) the redundancy אֱלֹהִים שַׁדַּי (// אֵל) is itself suspect, and (b) our author never combined שדי with any other term for God in one stich to parallel another term for God in the other stich.[21] So that אלהים must be excised as a later accretion in the second stich.

As to how אלהים entered our text secondarily: (a) The conflation may have stemmed from the frequency of the combination of א and ל (אל אל ואל), with the last אל possibly duplicated as an abbreviation of

[19] Benjamin Szold, in his fine Hebrew commentary on Job, ספר איוב (Baltimore, 1886; see my comments on his work in *JQR*, 45 [1954–55], 383–85), is one of the few scholars to note this phenomenon with any regularity.

[20] Szold (p. 131, *ad loc.*), on the basis of the use of אל and שדי (שדי — אל. זכר אלה הכנוים, לרמז שדבר כלפי בלדד), associates our verse with Bildad's rhetorical statement in 8.3 (הַאֵל יְעַוֵּת מִשְׁפָּט וְאִם שַׁדַּי יְעַוֵּת־צֶדֶק). David B. Strashun, however, in his Hebrew commentary on Job, מְיַשֵּׁר נְבוֹכִים (Vilna, 5688–1897; pp. 152–53, *ad loc.*), associates our verse with 11.2 and 5.8 (והוא מוקבל נם למה שאמר אליפז [לעיל ה', ח'] ואולם אני אדרוש אל אל ונו'). Cf. also our Chapter I, pp. 63–66 (*re* Gray's statements about the terms for God in Job). F. Zorell, "Der Gottesname 'Šaddai' in den alten Übersetzungen" (*Biblica*, 8 [1927], 215–19), has not noted our passage.

[21] Although the Greek of 15.25 (כִּי־נָטָה אֶל־אֵל יָדוֹ וְאֶל־שַׁדַּי יִתְגַּבָּר) is *ὅτι ἦρκε χεῖρας ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου, ἔναντι δὲ κυρίου παντοκράτορος ἐτραχηλίασεν*, that does not necessarily point to a reading שדי ואל אל(הים) in the second stich of its *Vorlage*. For the second *κυριου* could be due to the quill of a copyist (the close proximity of *εναντιον του κυριου* to *εναντι δε* would lend itself to such an error) or of a glossator. But if the second *κυριου* is original, then the translation implies that either the translator, or the copyist responsible for his Hebrew text, mistakenly read אל twice (due perhaps to the combination of א and ל in אלאלידואל). Moreover the reading of the LXX is not above suspicion, in that the Arabic and Holmes-Parsons 106 (both of which in the book of Job, as in Daniel [cf. J. A. Montgomery, *ICC on Daniel* (1927), 52], the Minor Prophets [cf. J. Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae* (1943), 39 ff.], Ezekiel [cf. Ziegler, ed. *Ezechiel* (1952), 29 ff.], Jeremiah [cf. Ziegler, ed. *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae* (1957), 52 ff.], I Maccabees [cf. *Maccabaeorum Liber I*, ed. W. Kappler (1936), § B, I, p. 23], and II Maccabees [cf. *Maccabaeorum Liber II*, ed. W. Kappler - R. Hanhart (1959), 12 ff.] — the Arabic of Isaiah was left undone by Ziegler, cf. his *Isaias* [1939], p. 17, n. 1; though 𝔄 and 106 go together, cf. pp. 21 ff. — belong to the same group and can be used as checks upon Codex Alexandrinus 161, 248, and 261) as all omit the second *κυριου*. The Targum, Peshitta, and Vulgate agree with the received text, as is to be expected.

אלהים; thus Kenn 188 accidentally lacks אלואל.[22] (b) The scribe's eye may have been misled by א(ו)לם in the first stich; thus the scribe responsible for Kenn 180 (or its ancestor) actually omitted אולם. In any case, once אלהים had found its way into the text, the extreme length of the line and the fact that the combination אלהים שדי — unknown in Biblical Hebrew — was most strange resulted in the deletion of the second of the two terms for God.

In fine: (1) the Septuagint, in combination with (2) the use of שדי in Job as the parallel to any other term for God, aided (3) by the preservation of שדי in Kenn 223 and (4) by אל // שדי in 13.3, helps restore the original reading of our verse:

אוּלָם אֲנִי אֶדְרֹשׁ אֶל אֵל
וְאֶל שַׁדַּי אָשִׂים דִּבְרָתִי

4. 5.22, 25 (אַל־תִּירָא) הָאָרֶץ (לִשּׁוֹד וּלְכָפָן תִּשְׁחָק וּמַחַיַּת) / (*ἀδίκων καὶ ἀνόμων καταγελάσῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ θηρίων*) *ἀγριών* (*οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇς*) and הָאֶרֶץ (וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי־רַב זַרְעֶךָ וְצֶאֱצָאֶיךָ כְּעֵשֶׂב) / (*γνώσῃ δὲ ὅτι πολὺ τὸ σπέρμα σου, τὰ δὲ τέκνα σου ἔσται, ὥσπερ τὸ παμβότανον*) *τοῦ ἀγροῦ*.

There can be little doubt that the Hebrew text used by our translator read in both passages הַשָּׂדֶה for preserved הָאָרֶץ: (1) ארץ occurs no less than 54 times in our Book (10 of which are in Theodotionic passages), and is never otherwise equated with *ἄγριος* / *ἀγρός*. (2) *αγρος* / *αγριος* was employed by our translator exclusively for שדה — except in 6.5 and 39.5; 24.5; 30.7 and 40.22, as follows:

(a) In 6.5 (עַלִּי־דֶשֶׁא אִם יִגְעֶה־שׁוֹר עַל־בְּלִילוֹ) פָּרֶא (הֲיִנְהַק) was rendered, correctly (*τί γάρ; μὴ διὰ κενῆς κεκράξεται*) *ὄνος ἄγριος*, (*ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ σῖτα ζητῶν; εἰ δὲ καὶ ῥήξει φωνὴν βοῦς ἐπὶ φάτνης ἔχων τὰ βρώματα;*), "wild ass." So too 39.5, פָּרֶא / *ὄνον ἄγριον*.

(b) In 24.5 (*ἀπέβησαν δὲ ὥσπερ*) *ὄνοι ἐν ἀγρῷ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ* (*ἐξελθόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν . . .*) for (. . . יָצְאוּ בְּפֶעֱלָם) (הֵן) פְּרָאִים בַּמִּדְבָּר is almost certainly a corruption of *ὄνοι ἄγριοι ἐπ' ἐρήμου*. Cf., e. g.,

[22] For other examples in Job of such confusion, see 8.5 (where Kenn 173 deletes the second אל of received אלאלואל); 16.11 (where Kenn 163 omits the second אל of אלאל); 18.21 (where Kenn 17 for אך אלה has אך אלאלה); and especially 20.15 (where אל was extended in Kenn 1 to אלוה) and 22.26 (where אלאלוה has become in Kenn 248 אלאליו, and in Kenn 18 אלאל). The variants in 20.15 and 22.26 indicate that the original term for God in these passages was probably אל; אל to be extended to אלוה + אליו is possible; אלוה + אליו to be cut down to אל is very improbable.

S. R. Driver, *Notes on . . . Samuel*[2] (1914), Introduction, p. lvi (top, at I Sam. 6.7), has noted Wellhausen's clever explanation of Lucian's *ἄνευ τῶν τετεγμένων ἐφ' ἃς οὐκ ἐπετέθη ζύγος* as representing a doublet: אשר לא עליהם עול as well as received אשר לא עלה עליהם עול.

Jer. 31 (48).6 כֵּעֲרוֹעֵר בַּמִּדְבָּר (נֻסוּ מַלְּטוּ נַפְשְׁכֶם וּתְהִינֶה) / (. . . καὶ ἔσεσθε) ὥσπερ ὄνος ἄγριος ἐν ἐρήμῳ; and see further Chap. IV above, § **23** (pp. 144–5), and also § **24** (145–6) for τάξιν being a corruption of πράξιν.

(c) In 30.7 (יִסְפָּחוּ) חָרוּל (בֵּין שִׂיחִים יִנְהָקוּ תַּחַת) was nicely rendered (ἀνὰ μέσον εὐήχων βοήσονται [=Theodotion] οἳ ὑπὸ) φρύγανα ἄγρια (διῃτῶντο) "wild shrubs."

(d) Finally, in 40.22 (σκιάζονται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ δένδρα μεγάλα σὺν ῥαδάμνοις καὶ κλῶνες) ἀγροῦ for (יְסֻכֻהוּ צִאֱלִים צִלְלוֹ יְסֻבֻהוּ עַרְבֵי־) נָחַל is a corruption of ἄγνου, "(. . . and twigs) of the willow tree"; see my discussion in Chap. IV above, § **33** (p. 150).

(3) One might, nevertheless, argue that our translator rendered הארץ (חית) and הארץ (עשב) by "wild (animals/herbage)" since that is the force of ארץ in the context. However, there are several other factors which, in conjunction with the Septuagint, tend to preclude this line of reasoning. In v. 22 it is significant that Kenn 170 reads השדה in place of הארץ; and in v. 25 some 8 manuscripts (4 Kenn and 4 de Rossi) read השדה for the preserved הארץ.

(4) In v. 22 the Targum reads חֵיוַת בְּרָא דְאַרְעָא for חית הארץ, possibly pointing to a *Vorlage* that read both השדה and הארץ; and in v. 25 it reads עִסְבָא דְחַקְלָא, almost certainly deriving from עשב השדה.[23]

(5) Except in Gen. 1 2 and (apparently) 9.10, ארץ does not have the meaning of "wild" in the sense that שדה often does. Thus in Amos 7.2, . . . אֶת־עֵשֶׂב הָאָרֶץ (וְהָיָה אִם כִּלָּה לֶאֱכוֹל) means simply "the herbage of the land" (the LXX, correctly [καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν συντελέσῃ τοῦ καταφαγεῖν] τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς; Targum יַת עִסְבָא דְאַרְעָא). This is true also in Lev. 26.20, where (וְתַם לָרִיק כֹּחֲכֶם וּלֹא תִתֵּן אַרְצְכֶם) (לֹא יִתֵּן פִּרְיוֹ) וְעֵץ הָאָרֶץ (אֶת־יְבוּלָהּ) has the straightforward meaning "(. . . Your land shall not yield its produce, nor shall) the trees of the land (yield their fruit). Interestingly, the LXX rendered here (καὶ ἔσται εἰς κενὸν ἡ ἰσχὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐ δώσει ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν τόν σπόρον αὐτῆς,) καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὑμῶν (οὐ δώσει τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ) — the only other instance in the Bible, out of a total of 2407 occurrences (according to BDB), in which ἀγρός is used for ארץ — where the meaning is simply "the trees of your field."

As to which is the original reading in our two verses, preserved הָאָרֶץ (כְּעֵשֶׂב / וּמַחַיַּת) or septuagintal-Kennicot(-targumic?) הַשָּׂדֶה, I am inclined to favor the former: (1) I doubt that our author would have

[23] Nowhere in the Bible does the Targum employ ארעא for השדה (חית / עשב) or חקלא ברא for הארץ. In Exod. 10.15 — and cf. 9.22, 25; 10.2 — עשב השדה and עשב הארץ are synonymous; unless it is due to the predilections of J, E, and P, I do not know how to distinguish between the two terms here.

employed השדה in vv. 22 and 25 when he had employed it twice in v. 23 (כִּי עִם־אַבְנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה בְּרִיתֶךָ וְחַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה הְשָׁלְמָה־לָּךְ); (2) I do not believe that our author intended "wild grass" in v. 25; all that he wishes to indicate was that Job's offspring — if only he return to God — would be as numerous "as the grass of the earth." (3) השדה in vv. 22 and 25, if secondary, may be accounted for by the presence of השדה (twice) in v. 23; הארץ, on the other hand, is not readily accounted for.

5. 7.3 (כֵּן) הִנְחַלְתִּי לִי (יַרְחֵי־שָׁוְא) / *κἀγὼ ὑπέμεινα*, "I have also endured." As indicated already by Schleusner (under "Nonnulli statuunt"), followed by Beer, Margolis ("Entwurf zu einer revidierten Ausgabe der hebräisch-aramäischen Äquivalente in der Oxforder Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament," *ZAW*, 25 [1905], 318), Ball, and Dhorme, the translator read הוחלתי; note the reading הנחלתי in Kenn 196. (For a converse example, see Margolis, *ad loc.*) Because of the parallel stich, וַלֵּילוֹת עָמָל מִנּוּ־לִי, the preserved reading is to be preferred.

6. 7.20 The Septuagint reproduced every word in this verse except עָלָי: (חָטָאתִי מָה אֶפְעַל־לָךְ נֹצֵר הָאָדָם לָמָּה שַׂמְתַנִי לְמִפְגָּע לָךְ וָאֶהְיֶה) עָלָי (לְמַשָּׂא) / (*εἰ ἐγὼ ἥμαρτον, τί δύναμαί σοι πρᾶξαι, ὁ ἐπιστάμενος τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων; διὰ τί ἔθου με κατεντευκτήν σου, εἰμὶ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ (φορτίον)*; There can be little doubt that our translator read עליך in his *Vorlage*: (1) Had he had עלי (i. e., Job himself) before him, it is most unlikely that he would have rendered (or read עלי as an abbreviation of עליך, to produce) *επι σοι* (i. e., God). (2) Kenn 300, 683 have preserved עליך; (3) Already ancient Jewish tradition, in the form, e. g., of the Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael (ed. J. Z. Lauterbach, 3 vols. [Jewish Publication Society's *Schiff Library of Jewish Classics*], vol. II [5694–1933], p. 44 top [Tractate Shirata, at Exod. 15.7]), informs us that Scripture — to soften the harshness of the text — modified (כינה הכתוב) an original עליך to עלי. So that despite Ibn Ezra's statement,[24] there can be little doubt that septuagintal עליך is the original reading.

7. 8.20 (הֵן־אֵל לֹא יִמְאַס־תָּם וְלֹא־יַחֲזִיק בְּיַד־מְרֵעִים) / (*ὁ γὰρ κύριος οὐ μὴ ἀποποιήσηται τὸν ἄκακον,*) *πᾶν δὲ δῶρον ἀσεβοῦς οὐ δέξεται.*

[24] ואהיה עלי למשא תיקון סופרים אע"פ שפירושו כאשר הוא בלא תיקון נכון. Cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), 360–61. See also S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, etc., 2nd ed. (=vol. XVIII of *Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, New York, 5722–1962), "Corrections of the Soferim," pp. 28–37.

There are two separate Greek-Hebrew problems here: (1) מְרֵעִים / *ἀσεβοῦς* and (2) יַחֲזִיק בְּיָד / *πᾶν δῶρον δέξεται*.

(1) As for מרעים / *ασεβους*, it will be seen clearly that the LXX translator read מַרְשָׁעִים: (a) It is noteworthy that the root רעע occurs 13 times in our Book and is never equated with any form of *ἀσεβής-ἀσεβεῖν*; it is usually a form of *κακός* (2.3, 10, 11; 5.19; 22.5; 28.28; 30.26. 20.12 is Theodotionic) or *πονηρός* (1.1, 8; 35.12. 21.30 is Theodotionic) that served as the correspondent.[25] Indeed, the root רעע is never reproduced in the Greek Old Testament by a form of *ασεβειν*; even in I Sam. 24.12 *ασεβεια* represents not רָעָה but פֶּשַׁע (so frequently).

(b) A form of *ασεβης — ασεβειν — ασεβεια* is used by our translator almost exclusively for forms of the root רשע, no less than 29 times; 3 times *ασεβης* represents חָנֵף (8.13; 15.34; 27.8); and in 6 passages either the textual situation is unclear or else a form of *ασεβ.* was added for the sake of clarity.[26]

It is clear, then, that רָע, רָעָה, or the like, would not have been rendered by a form of *ἀσεβής*, and that *ἀσεβής*, in turn, points

[25] 31.29 is too difficult to help us. The root of יָרֵעַ (כְּבִירִים לֹא־תַחֲקֹר וַעֲמָד אֲחֵרִים תַּחְתָּם) in 34.24 does not have the same meaning as our root ("bad, evil, wicked"); LXX *ὁ καταλαμβάνων* / ירע has been explained by Beer and Margolis (p. 117 of "ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ [Including Compounds and Derivatives] and its Hebrew-Aramaic Equivalents in Old Testament Greek," *AJSL*, 22 [1906], 110–119) as from a form of ירע "know, comprehend." Conversely, cf. Jer. 15.12, where LXX (*εἰ*)*γνωσθήσεται* (*σίδηρος . . .*) — in common with several mss., Theodotion, and Aquila – read a form of הירע for received (. . . הֲיֻרַע (ברזל); or v. 14, where LXX *καὶ καταδουλώσω σε* (*κύκλῳ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου ἐν τῇ γῇ . . .*) — in common with several mss., and cf. Targum and 17.14 — read (. . . וְהַעֲבַדְתִּיךָ אֶת־אֹיְבֶיךָ בְּאֶרֶץ in place of received וַהֲעֲבַרְתִּי.

In 42.11 (. . . *καὶ ἐθαύμασαν*) *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*, (*οἷς ἐπήγαγεν αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος*) represents (. . . כָּל־הָרָעָה (אֲשֶׁר הֵבִיא יהוה עָלָיו (וַיְנַחֲמוּ אתו על). However, *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν* for כל־הרעה can hardly be original: (1) the LXX would hardly have suppressed הרעה; and (2) the Old Latin reads *in omnibus malis*. It could well be that *επι πασιν οις*, etc., is but a corruption of an original *επι πασιν τοις κακοις οις* (so H-P 23 [=𝔙], 248 [supra lin.], 249), *τοις κακοις* having been missed by a scribe before following *οις*.

[26] Even in Prov. 11.19, (כֵּן־צְדָקָה לְחַיִּים וּמֵרַדֵּף רָעָה לְמוֹתוֹ) / (*υἱὸς δίκαιος γεννᾶται εἰς ζωήν, διωγμὸς δὲ*) *ἀσεβοῦς* (*εἰς θάνατον*), where it would appear that *ασεβης* stands for רעה — the only such equation in the entire Greek Old Testament — it seems more likely that the LXX *Vorlage* read רָשָׁע "wicked person" (=*ασεβης*) rather than the abstract רָעָה "evil." Note (1) the frequent occurrence of רשע in this chapter and (2) the fact that *ασεβ.* is used regularly in the Book of Proverbs for רשע, and never — outside of our verse — for רעה (reproduced overwhelmingly by either *κακός* or *πονηρός*; the data are readily available in E. Hatch-H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, s. *ασεβης*, *κακος*, and *πονηρος*).

precisely to a form of רשע as most closely resembling רעה–רע. Our translator read מרשעים where our preserved text reads מרעים.[27]

(2) As for וְחָזִיק בְּיַד (ולא) / *πᾶν* (*δὲ*) *δῶρον* (*οὐ*) *δέξεται*, the biblical writers regularly used ב החזיק in the sense of "seize; hold fast to; retain," the qal (חזק ב) with the meaning "hold firmly to; devote oneself to." It is scarcely conceivable that our translator should have been ignorant of this straightforward meaning or have wished to avoid it: there is no problem in the assertion (parallel to הן אל לא ימאס תם): "Nor will He take hold of (or, support) the wicked." Dhorme's opinion (cf. Schleusner) that "𝔊 interprète יחזיק ביד dans le sens de 'prendre de la main' " is hardly acceptable not only because one might expect מִיַּד rather than בְּיַד but also because "prendre de la main" is not yet the equivalent of "accept a bribe" (*δῶρον* . . . *δέξεται*) and the latter flies in the face of the simple parallel: *ὁ γὰρ κύριος οὐ μὴ ἀποποιήσηται τὸν ἄκακον.*

Schleusner (s. *δῶρον*) had explained the LXX as follows: "Sc. ביד positum est h. l. pro אֲשֶׁר בְּיַד, quod est in manu s. manu affertur et offertur. Ergo etiam *munus*, *donum*, *sacrificium* notat." Accepting this as a possibility (but see above, *in re* Dhorme), Beer cleverly suggested that "𝔊 kann aber auch יקח זבד gelesen haben," and Margolis ("Studien im griechischen alten Testament," *Z.f.A.W.*, 27 [1907], 265) has found this acceptable. I too am inclined to follow Beer's suggestion, primarily for these two reasons: (a) *δέξομαι* is the standard equivalent for the root לקח; (b) *δῶρον* = זֵבֶד in its only occurrence in the Bible (Gen. 30.20: וְזִבְּדָנִי אֱלֹהִים אֹתִי זֵבֶד טוֹב / *δεδώρηταί μοι ὁ θεὸς δῶρον καλόν*); and cf. Ecclus. 7.25 זְבֻדָּה / *δώρησαι αὐτήν.*

Between ולא יחזיק ביד מרשעים and ולא יקח זבד מרשעים there can be little doubt that the preserved text is the original: (a) (אני יהוה כהֶאֱמַר יהוה לְמשִׁיחוֹ לְכוֹרֶשׁ) and (וְאֹחֵז בִּימִינֶךָ קְרָאתִיךָ בְצֶדֶק) in Isa. 42.6 and אֲשֶׁר־הֶחֱזַקְתִּי בִימִינוֹ in 45.1 are used in the sense of "support, uphold"; and essentially the same meaning is to be found in (הִנֵּה־זֹה הָיָה עֲוֹן סְדֹם אֲחוֹתֶךָ . . .) יַד־עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן לֹא הֶחֱזִיקָה in Ezek. 16.49. This meaning fits our own stich admirably: "(God does not reject the blameless,) Nor does He uphold the evildoer." (b) ולא יקח זבד מרשעים, on the other hand, is patently a prosaic statement which, in addition, is not really parallel to its fellow stich.

The question of how an original (מרעים) יחזיק ביד (ולא) became (מרשעים) יקח זבד (ולא) may be answered plausibly on the assumption

[27] It is worth noting that in Job 38.13, 15 the Masoretes preserved the reading רְשָׁעִים, with the masoretic note: תלויה ע; cf., e. g., C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 340 f. In Prov. 28.3, LXX (*ἀνδρεῖος ἐν*) *ἀσεβείαις* derives from רָשָׁע for preserved רָשׁ (נָבָר).

that a scribe failed to reproduce the ק and either he or another scribe entered it in the wrong place.

8. 9.22 אַחַת־הִיא עַל־כֵּן אָמַרְתִּי תָּם וְרָשָׁע הוּא מְכַלֶּה / *διὸ εἶπον Μέγάν καὶ δυνάστην ἀπολλύει ὀργή*, "Therefore I said, 'The great and mighty (His) wrath slays.'" It is evident at once that אחת היא is lacking in the Septuagint; but no less striking is the fact that תם is apparently reproduced by *μεγαν*, and רשע by *δυναστην*; and, finally, הוא מכלה has become *απολλυει οργη*. So that the entire point of the Hebrew, viz., that God does not distinguish between the blameless and the wicked, has become in the LXX: God's wrath slays the great and mighty.

One has but to examine closely the statements in Job which constitute "Charges Against or Involving God" — dealt with above in Chap. III, § D; see, e. g., in the present chapter, vv. 11–16, 20–24 (excluding v. 22a), 28–31, 32–34 (in subsections **10 14**, pp. 255–60) — to realize that our author would hardly have bothered to alter our own forthright passage so radically, indeed, to the point where the original meaning had become totally suppressed. Rather, our translator had neither תם nor רשע in his *Vorlage*; the former would have been rendered by *ἄκακος* (cf., e. g., 8.20) or *ἄμεμπτος* (cf., e. g., 9.20) — *μέγας* / תָּם would be unique in the Bible — and רשע by a form of *ἀσεβής* (see subsection 1 b in § **7** above) — and *δυνάστης* / רָשָׁע would likewise be unique in the Bible.

There can be little doubt, too, that אחת היא was altogether lacking in our translator's *Vorlage*. All in all, it would appear idle to attempt reconstruction of the Hebrew text behind the LXX.[28]

9. 11.14 (עַוְלָה) בְּאָהֳלֶיךָ (וְאִי־תִשְׁכֹּן) (אִם אָוֶן בְּיָדְךָ הַרְחִיקֵהוּ / *ἐν διαίτῃ σου*. The fact that the LXX reads the singular form does not, by itself, indicate that it derives from בְּאָהֳלֶךָ; as observed above (Chap. II, § **17**, pp. 269–70), "... Our translator ... often rendered a singular by the plural, and vice versa ..." However, all three important Minor Versions (Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus), and the Targum, and no fewer than 20 Kenn and 20 de Rossi manuscripts

[28] Were it not for the other real differences between the Greek and the Hebrew, one might readily account for אחת היא as the work of a glossator, summing up the argument of the verses preceding; and this may have been the case anyway.

F. X. Wutz, "Alte Stämme und Formen, die von 𝔊 (𝔖) noch bezeugt werden," *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 18 (1928), 18, would see in אחת היא only a doublet of אמאם חי in 9.21.

read the singular; so that באהלך has as much right to be regarded as original as has the received באהליך.[29]

But a closer study of the use of אהל in our Book reveals this significant fact: אהל is used in the singular in all but two of its eleven occurrences, in several instances in the same sort of context as our own; and neither of the two instances in the plural constitutes an exception to this usage. Cf., e. g., 5.24, וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי־שָׁלוֹם אֹהֶלֶךָ . . . נָוֶךָ; 18.6, אוֹר חָשַׁךְ בְּאֹהָלוֹ; 29.4 בְּסוֹד אֱלוֹהַּ עֲלֵי אָהֳלִי; also 18.15 and 21.28 which are Theodotionic. The two passages with the plural form are 12.6 (יִשְׁלָיוּ אֹהָלִים | לְשׁוֹדְדִים) and 15.34 (וְאֵשׁ אָכְלָה אָהֳלֵי־שְׁחַד).

Finally, the evidence for sing. באהלך, rather than the preserved באהליך, being the original reading, becomes more conclusive when the passage corresponding to ours, 22.23, is brought to bear on our problem; it reads: מֵאָהֳלֶךָ (אִם תָּשׁוּב עַד־שַׁדַּי תִּבָּנֶה תַּרְחִיק עַוְלָה).

10. 13.4 (טִפְלֵי־שָׁקֶר) ואולם אתם / *ὑμεῖς δέ* "And you." Most critics (e. g., Merx, Siegfried, Ball, Beer [in *Biblia Hebraica*², ³]) justify the deletion of אולם on the basis of the LXX, explaining its presence in the received text as a dittograph of אולם at the beginning of the preceding verse. Dhorme, however, maintained that "𝔊 . . . n'exclut pas forcément אולם." The problem can be solved in but one way, viz., to trace אולם throughout our Book to see how the LXX rendered it.

The term אולם occurs nine times elsewhere in Job, and it is clear that our translator regarded it as the strongest of adversative particles, reproducing its force most frequently by the unusual combination *οὐ μὴν* (*δὲ*) *ἀλλά* (2.5; 5.8; 13.3; 17.10; 33.1); twice it is rendered *ἀλλά* (1.11; 11.5), and once by each of *ἀλλὰ δή* (12.7) and *καὶ πλήν* (14.18); not once is אולם dismissed with a mere *δέ* or *καί*.

It is clear that the LXX-*Vorlage* lacked אולם, and read simply וְאַתֶּם. As between ואתם and the received ואולם אתם, there can be little doubt that the former is to be preferred: אולם is hardly to be expected in two successive verses, it is out of place in the second of the two verses, and is readily explained as a dittograph from the first verse.

11. 13.6 (ורבות שְׂפָתַי הַקְשִׁיבוּ) תוֹכַחְתִּי (שִׁמְעוּנָא) / (*ἀκούσατε δὲ*) *ἔλεγχον τοῦ στόματός μου*. There can be little doubt that our translator had the reading תוֹכַחַת פִּי before him, for he would hardly have gone out of his way to add "(the argument) of my mouth" to "my argument."

Even more, our translator's text is probably the original: (a) the

[29] The singular in 𝔓 (ܒܡܫܟܢܟ) and 𝔙 (in tabernaculo tuo) may be due to the LXX, just as Saadia's פי כבאך may be due to targumic בְּמִשְׁכְּנָךְ.

presence of פִּי would give the verse a 3:3 meter; (b) פי provides a correspondent in *a* for שְׂפָתַי (וְרִבּוֹת) in *b*; for other passages in our Book where פי is parallel to שפתים, cf., e. g., 8.21; 15.6; 23.12; (c) 23.4 — the entire chapter of which has much in common with our chapter 13 — reads וּפִי אֲמַלֵּא תוֹכְחוֹת.

Torczyner[30] rejected תוחכת פי as "unhebräisch," and Dhorme argued that "Le changement de תוחַכְתִּי en תוחכת פי . . . alourdit le 1er hémistiche et occasionne une mauvaise rencontre de sens ['sons' is a typographical error]"; but these assertions hardly stand up in the face of such expressions in Job as (עַד־אָן תְּמַלֵּל־אֵלֶּה) וְרוּחַ כַּבִּיר אִמְרֵי־פִיךָ in 8.2; (וְלֹא אָמִישׁ מַחֲקֵי צָפְנָתִי) אִמְרֵי־פִיו in 23.12; and וּפִי אֲמַלֵּא תוֹכָחוֹת in 23.4. And surely תוֹחַכת פִּי is hardly an inferior Hebrew idiom to אִמְרֵי פִיךָ/פִיו! As to how an original תוחכת פי became ת֯חכתי, Merx suggested (p. LIV) that "nachdem das פ verwischt war, die recipierte Lesart תוכחת ־ִי entstanden ist" (giving some additional examples there, pp. LIII ff.); the statement by S. R. Driver (*Notes on the Hebrew Text . . . of Samuel*², p. LXVIII) is worth noting in this connection: "All letters confused in LXX cannot be reduced to rule: a certain number are due to *accidental* causes, as the partial illegibility of a letter in particular cases."

12. 13.14 (וַיַּעֲבֹר עָלַי מָה:) עַל מָה | אֶשָּׂא בְשָׂרִי בְשִׁנָּי (וַנַּפְשִׁי אָשִׂים בְּכַפִּי) / *ἀναλαβὼν τὰς σάρκας μου τοῖς ὀδοῦσι*, "Having taken my flesh in my teeth." Per se the absence of anything for עַל מָה in the LXX may be explained as haplography in its Hebrew *Vorlage* just as readily as one can account for עַל מָה in the received text as due to dittography — both in relation to עלי מה immediately preceding. However, several factors join to indicate that על מה is hardly original: (a) על מה breaks up the continuity of the context;[31] (b) their presence spoils an otherwise normal 3:3 meter; (c) the masoretic *paseq* probably points to something anomalous in connection with these two words. So that most scholars agree that the LXX did not have על מה in its *Vorlage* and that these words derive from preceding עלי מה by dittography (so also, e. g., S. R. Driver, s. על מה [§ **4 f** of מה] in BDB, 554a bottom).

13. 15.23 (וְצָפוּ הוּא אֱלֵי־חֶרֶב:) נֹדַד הוּא (לַלֶּחֶם אַיֵּה) / *κατατέτακται δὲ* (*εἰς σῖτα γυψίν* [=לְלֶחֶם אַיֵּה]), "And he has been appointed (as

[30] *Das Buch Hiob* (1920), 78; similarly in his ספר איוב (Jerusalem, 5701–1940/41) and *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, 1957) — the last two under his later name, N. H. Tur-Sinai.

[31] N. Herz, "Egyptian Words and Idioms in the Book of Job," *OLZ*, 16 (1913), 344–45, argues for the retention of על מה — not very convincingly.

food for vultures)." Most commentators recognize that the received Hebrew text makes little sense per se ("He wanders about for bread: Where [is it]?") and does not fit the context.

The word that falls under suspicion immediately is נֹדֵד, both because it is out of place in the Hebrew and has no correspondent in the Greek other than *κατατέτακται*. Now *κατατάσσω* is used elsewhere in the Greek Old Testament only here, in 7.12 (כִּי תָשִׂים [עָלַי] מִשְׁמָר] / *ὅτι κατέταξας* [*ἐπ' ἐμὲ φυλακήν*;]), 35.10 ([זִמְרוֹת בַּלָּיְלָה] נתן / *ὁ κατατὰσσων* [*φυλακὰς νυκτερινάς*]), and probably Ezek. 44.14 ([אוֹתָם שמרי מִשְׁמֶרֶת הַבָּיִת] וְנָתַתִּי / *καὶ κατατάξουσιν*[32] [*αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν φυλακὰς τοῦ οἴκου*]). It is used in the sense of "arrange, appoint, designate."[33]

Schleusner tried to explain *κατατασσω* / נדד as "Fortasse נָדַד permutarunt cum נָדָה, *separavit*." But נדה, found twice in the Bible (in both instances as pi'el ptc. pl.: [שמעו דבר־יהוה הַחֲרֵדִים אֶל־דְּבָרוֹ אָמְרוּ אַחֵיכֶם שֹׂנְאֵיכֶם] מְנַדֵּיכֶם [לְמַעַן שְׁמִי יִכְבַּד יהוה . . .] in Isa. 66.5 and הַמְנַדִּים [לְיוֹם רָע וַתַּגִּישׁוּן שָׁבֶת חָמָס] in Amos 6.3), has, if anything,[34] precisely the opposite meaning of *κατατασσω*, viz., "thrust off; exclude; put away/off." As the Hebrew behind LXX *κατατέτακται*, Merx suggested "סָדַר?" Some (Siegfried, Beer ["vel"], Duhm, Torczyner, Ball) proposed נתן; and others favored נ(ו)עָד, e. g., Duhm, Torczyner, Buttenwieser, Wutz (p. 265), Beer (BH³ מוּעָד [a יעד]).

So far as Greek-Hebrew equivalents are concerned, both נתן and נעד are possible readings: *κατατασσω* = נתן in 35.10 and probably in Ezek. 44.14 (see above); *τασσω* = נתן a couple of times in the LXX; and = יעד in Exod. 29.43 ([שָׂמָה לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנִקְדַּשׁ בִּכְבֹדִי] וְנַעַדְתִּי / *καὶ*

[32] So, e. g., in the editions of Rahlfs and Ziegler. Two cursives (88, 62) read *και καταταξουσιν*; and their associate (407) reads *και καταταξει*. 𝔅 and some members of its group read *και καταξουσιν*; 𝔄 and its group read *και ταξουσιν*. It is easy to understand how the combination *και κατατα-* ran into difficulties at the hands of some scribes. (The pertinent textual data may be found in ed. Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, pp. 32 ff. [on "Die hexaplarische Rezension" involving 88, 62, and 407] and *ad loc.*)

[33] The old Latin rendered the LXX of our three Job passages as follows: 15.23 et decretus est (in esca vulturum); 7.12 qui statuisti (super me custodiam); 35.10 qui distribuit (custodias nocturnas).

[34] The LXX rendering of the Isaiah passage is (*εἴπατε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν* [or *ὑμῶν*], *τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς* [or *ὑμᾶς*]) *καὶ βδελυσσομένοις*, (*ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου δοξασθῇ*). The textual situation in Amos is less clear; there the 𝔄 group (see ed. Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae* [1943], *ad loc.*) reads *οἱ εὐχόμενοι* (= ה[?]מ[נ]דרים, for received המנדים), whereas the rest read *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι* (= *οἱ ἐγγίζοντες* וַתַּגִּישׁוּן). Aquila rendered *οἱ ἀποκεχωρισμένοι* and Symmachus *οἱ ἀφωρισμένοι*; I do not know why Schleusner (s. *ἀποχωρίζομαι* and *ἀφωρισμένος*) described these as "Libere vertit"; they are quite literal. Theodotion rendered *οἱ ἀπαγόμενοι*.

τάξομαι); II Sam. 20.5 ([K=וייחר ;Q=) וַיֵּלֶךְ עֲמָשָׂא לְהַזְעִיק אֶת־יְהוּדָה וַיּוֹחֶר יְעָדוֹ [מִן־הַמּוֹעֵד אֲשֶׁר) / [. . . *καὶ ἐχρόνισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗ*] *ἐτάξατο αὐτῷ* [*Δαυιδ*]); and cf. I Sam. 20.35: (וַיְהִי בַבֹּקֶר וַיֵּצֵא יְהוֹנָתָן הַשָּׂדֶה) לְמוֹעֵד (דָּוִד) / *καθὼς ἐτάξατο εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον* (*Δαυιδ*). Paleographically, however, it is obviously נעד, not נתן, with which the preserved נדד is to be associated; on the confusion of ד and ע in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX of Job, cf., e. g., עָרְכָהּ / *ὁδὸν αὐτῆς* (=דַּרְכָהּ) at 28.13 (§ **18** below), and § C below.

Whether the reading of the LXX *Vorlage*, נֹעֵד הוּא לְלֶחֶם אֵיָה, is the original, is uncertain. Siegfried (followed by Ehrlich [who, characteristically, failed to mention his anticipator]) has noted לחם (נִתָּן הוא) לאֵיָה as the more likely construction. A further objection is that the niph'al of יעד is used in the sense of "meet at an appointed place; gather by appointment."[35]

14. 19.13 (אַךְ־זָרוּ מִמֶּנִּי) הִרְחִיק וְיֹדְעַי (אַחַי מַעְלַי) / (*ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοί μου*) *ἀπέστησαν*,[36] *φίλοι δέ μου* (*ἀνελεήμονες γεγόνασιν*), "From me my brothers stood aloof, and my friends (have become cruel)."

(a) There can be little doubt that our translator read רָחֲקוּ (so Torczyner) and not הִרְחִיקוּ (Beer, Ball, Dhorme): (1) Throughout our Book the hiph'il of רחק is understood as "cause to be (come) distant"; cf. *πόρρω ποιεῖν* in 11.14; 22.23; and *ἀπέχου* / הַרְחֵק (כַּפְּךָ מַעְלַי) in 13.21. In 30.10, on the other hand, רָחֲקוּ מֶנִּי (תְּעֲבוּנִי), the qal form, was rendered (approximately as in our verse) *με ἀποστάντες μακράν*.

Indeed, septuagintal רָחֲקוּ is to be preferred in our verse to the received הִרְחִיק: (1) just as וְיֹדְעַי (really, וְרֵעַי; see below) is the subject of the verb in *b*, so would אַחַי be expected to be the subject of the verb (viz., רָחֲקוּ) in *a*; (2) the verse following our own does not speak of God as having caused Job's friends and relatives to forsake him, but of the friends and God (vv. 1–12) having abandoned Job in his need (חֶדְלוּ קְרוֹבַי וּמְיֻדָּעַי שְׁכַחוּנִי).[37]

It would seem that the corruption took place in the second century A. D., for Aquila still read qal רחקו (*ἀπέστησαν*; see Field, *ad loc.*,

[35] It may be observed here that the reading of H-P 249 (so Syrohexapla, see Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum, ad loc.*), *καταπίπτει δὲ εἰς ἐξαλειψιν* (*κατατέτακται δὲ . . .*), is to be connected with the following stich, not with ours.

[36] The stich that follows here in the printed editions, viz., *ἔγνωσαν ἀλλοτρίους ἢ ἐμέ*, is to be excised as a translation of *b* that crept in later alongside the less literal rendering of the LXX.

[37] Torczyner has adduced 16.11, יַסְגִּירֵנִי אֵל אֶל עֲוָיֶל וְעַל־יְדֵי רְשָׁעִים יִרְטְנִי, as support for original הרחיק; but there the verse following likewise has God as the subject.

n. 15), whereas Symmachus read hiph'il הרחיקו (*πόρρω ἐποίησαν*; see Field, *ibid.*). Whether the corruption is purely graphic or due to reminiscence of Ps. 88.19 (הִרְחַקְתָּ מְמֶנִּי אֹהֵב וְרֵעַ מְיֻדָּעַי מַחְשָׁךְ), can hardly be determined.

It should be kept in mind that the qal and hiph'il forms of רחק are quite distinct in meaning, the former = "be(come) distant," the latter = "make distant"; and this distinction was carefully observed by the author of Job, the LXX translator, and the Minor Versions.

(b) Furthermore, LXX *φίλοι δέ* points to a reading וְרֵעַי rather than the preserved וְיֻדְּעַי: *φίλος* in Job, as in the Bible generally, represents רֵעַ,[38] and is never equated with a form of ידע. Moreover, ורעי is probably the original reading, in that it is hardly likely that the author of Job would have employed וידעי and ומְיֻדָּעַי in two successive verses. (On confusion between ד and ר, see § C below.)

15. 20.25 שָׁלַף וְיֹצֵא מִגֵּוָּה (תַּחְלָפֵהוּ קֶשֶׁת נְחוּשָׁה:) / *διεξέλθοι δὲ διὰ σώματα αὐτοῦ βέλος*, "And let the missile pass through his body." That the received text is difficult is evident from the many forced, even impossible meanings attached to it, e. g., Saadia, וסהם וסל ויכרנ מן טהרה; . . . ונעלת שלף כלטה מצמרה הו חץ; Ibn Janaḥ, ר״ל הנשק עבר ויצא מן הגוף שלף. ישלוף החץ מהאשפה; Ibn Ezra שלף. השולף עליו את הנשק: ויצא. הנשק Rashi ויצא מתוכה (so also, e. g., Moses Kimḥi, and Masnuth [see Chap. II, § 5, p. 246, n. 47] under יצא); Rabbi Levi ben Gershon (Ralbag; see Chap. II, § 1, p. 233, n. 20) מנוה. מהחיק אשר לה או ירצה בזה מנוף הרשע; Malbim (see Chap. II, § 8, p. 251, n. 55) מצייר שהחץ של ה' שימית אותו, לא ידמה כחץ של ב'ו שבא מן החוץ אל נופו רק בהפך שהחץ הזה יבא מן נויתו אל החוץ.

What we expect here for (ויצא) שלף, after תחלפהו קשת נחושה, is the term for some sort of weapon. The word that approximates שלף most closely in script and that also fits into the context perfectly is שְׂלַח; moreover, *βέλος* = שְׂלַח in Joel 2.8.

On the basis of the LXX, Schleusner and Dhorme read שלח ויצא מנוה; Siegfried, Ball, Buttenwieser, and Beer (BH[3] יצא) read ויצא שלח מנוה (Beer also ויצא מנוה שלח). But the critics have failed to note that the word order in the LXX (*διεξέλθοι δὲ διὰ σώματος αὐτοῦ βέλος*) is due to the word order of the stich preceding, *τρώσαι αὐτὸν τόξον Χάλκειον*, and cannot be used for rearranging the order of the received text. There is this additional matter, viz., that it may well be that received (ויצא מנוה) ו(של)ף, that is, the letters ף ו, derive from original ח(של); see below, § C.

[38] On (וְיִשְׁבְּתוּ שִׁלְשָׁת) הָאֲנָשִׁים (הָאֵלֶּה) / *φίλοι* in 32.1, see Chap. II, § 8, p. 251.

16. 23.12 (מֵצוּת שְׂפָתָיו וְלֹא אָמִישׁ) מֵחֻקִּי (צָפַנְתִּי אִמְרֵי־פִיו) / *ἐν δὲ κόλπῳ μου* "in my bosom." There can be little doubt that the LXX read בְּחֻקִּי.

It is obvious that מֵחֻקִּי lacks all justification in the context, as can be seen from the desperate translation "more than my necessary food" (KJ, JPS; cf. Rashi, Ralbag, with reference to Prov. 30.8). That something like "in my bosom" was required here was recognized already by Ibn Ezra, . . . והיה חוקי לצפון אמרי פיו, והענין שהיו צפונים בלבי. In common, then, with most modern scholars and translations (e. g., RSV, La Sainte Bible), I believe that the LXX *Vorlage* has preserved the original reading, בְּחֻקִּי. For the expression, cf. 22.22, וְשִׂים אֲמָרָיו בִּלְבָבֶךָ. As to how original ב(חקי) became corrupted into מ — probably in the post-LXX square script — see § C below. But once בחקי became מחקי, the vocalization (קי)ח became impossible; and since the word חֻקִּי was found but two verses farther on (v. 14), and perhaps also because of the expression לֶחֶם חֻקִּי in Prov. 30.8, what was more natural than to vocalize חֻקִּי?

17. 24.22 (בְּכֹחוֹ) אַבִּירִים (וּמָשַׁךְ) / (*θυμῷ* [probably = ברחו] *κατέστρεψεν*) *ἀδυνάτους*, "(and in His wrath He overthrew) the helpless." According to Grabe (see Chap. IV, § **15**, p. 140, n. 47), followed by Schleusner (who lists also [J. C. F.] Schulz and J. C. Doederlein), Margolis (*ZAW*, 27 [1907], 229), and M. Th. Houtsma,[39] *ἀδυνατους* is a corruption of *δυνάτους* "the mighty." I do not think this likely, however, because: (1) there is no manuscript support at all for this emendation; (2) *δύνατος* is equated but once with אַבִּיר in the entire Bible, in the 𝔄 group at Judg. 5.22 (Jer. 47.5 is Theodotionic); and (3) the context of the LXX, as well as of the received text, demands *ἀδυνατους* "the helpless" in that the preceding stich deals precisely with the plight of the defenseless.

As to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of *ἀδυνατους*, Bickell, Duhm, and Beer assume אֲבָרִים; Ball, however, rejected this equation, and rightly so, on the grounds that it "has been supposed without reference to the usage of the translator": the root אבר is found 18 times in our Book (of which 5 are Theodotionic), and it is equated with (*ἀπ*)*ὄλλυμι* 11 times (e. g., 11.20 אֹבֵד מָנוֹס (וּמָנוֹס) / (*σωτηρία δὲ*) *αὐτοὺς ἀπολείψει*, "shall fail them"; on [עַד־אֲבַדּוֹן תֹּאכַל] [כִּי אֵשׁ הִיא] / *ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν μερῶν* "on all sides" in 34.12, see Chap. II, § **9**, p. 255).

Ball suggested אֲבִיִּים as the reading behind *ἀδυνατους*, and this

[39] *Textkritische Studien zum A. T., I, Das Buch Hiob* (Leiden, 1925), p. 58, *ad loc.*

is probably correct: (1) our translator is the only one in the Greek Old Testament to equate *ἀδυνατος* with אֶבְיוֹן (5.15; 24.4; 29.16; 31.20 [19]); (2) since the context of the received text demands the "helpless" rather than the "mighty," it is very likely that אבינים, rather than אבירים, is the original. On the confusion of נ and ר (so almost certainly also in 3.3, הרה / *ἰδού*=הִנֵּה), see below, § C. It should be noted here that 34.20, אֲבִיר לֹא בִיָּד (וְיָסִירוּ . . .) / (. . . ἐκ-κλινομένων) *ἀδυνάτων*, has not been considered here, since the LXX differs too radically from the received text of the verse; Schleusner, following Doederlein, takes *ἀδυνατων* as the equivalent of the entire phrase, אביר לא ביד.

18. 28.13 (ולא תִמָּצֵא בְּאֶרֶץ הַחַיִּים) עֶרְכָּהּ (לֹא יָדַע אֱנוֹשׁ) / *ὁδὸν αὐτῆς*. There is no conceivable reason for the translator wanting to paraphrase straightforward ערכה "its price, value" by "its way." On the other hand, דַּרְכָּהּ is precisely what the context demands, in the light both of *b* and v. 12 (וְהַחָכְמָה מֵאַיִן תִּמָּצֵא וְאֵי־זֶה מְקוֹם בִּינָה); and cf. v. 23, אֱלֹהִים הֵבִין דַּרְכָּהּ וְהוּא יָדַע אֶת־מְקוֹמָהּ (see Dhorme's full discussion).

Practically all modern scholars and translations (e. g., RSV, La Sainte Bible) have accepted LXX דַּרְכָּהּ, e. g., Merx, Delitzsch, Bickell, Dillmann, Siegfried, Beer, Duhm, Torczyner, (Driver-)Gray, Ball, Buttenwieser, Wutz (p. 265), Dhorme, Beer (BH³). Tychsen (see Chap. I, p. 68 and n. 51) assumed the reading ארחה behind the LXX; but the paleographic factor alone precludes this in favor of דרכה.[40]

In attacking Wutz's proposition, Ch. Heller[41] argued that the LXX translator had preserved ערכה before him, but was influenced by דרכה in v. 23. It is far more likely, however, that it is דרכה that would have been influenced by ערכה in our verse. As a matter of fact, it is unnecessary even to assume that an original דרכה became ערכה under the influence of the verses following (מְחִירָהּ in v. 15; יַעַרְכֶנָּה in v. 17) — as believed by Ball, Buttenwieser, Dhorme — since no one would have thought of making such a change when vv. 12 and 13 demanded דרכה; ע was simply a scribal error for (ר)כה.

19. 30.19 (לְחֹמֶר וְאֶתְמְשֵׁל כֶּעָפָר וְאֵפֶר) הִרְנִי / *ἤγησαι δέ με* (*ἴσα πηλῷ*), "You have deemed me (as clay)." 𝔄 147 256 read *ηγηται*. Now since *σ* and *τ* are not easily confused in the uncial script, and since no scribe would likely have turned an original *ηγηται* ("He . . .") into

[40] This is how Schleusner (s. *ὁδός*) put it: ערך, *aestimatio* . . . ubi nonnullis videntur legisse אֹרְחָהּ, aut potius, quod magis probabile est, דַּרְכָּהּ. Fortasse tamen ex ingenio, uti saepe, h. l. aliquid posuerunt, quod contextui convenire putarent.

[41] *Die Tychsen-Wutzsche Transkriptionstheorie* (Berlin, 1932), p. 45.

ηγησαι ("You . . .") and thus accused God directly, and since 𝔄 is known for its tendency to "correct" in accordance with the received text, *ηγηται* may safely be regarded as original. By the same token, the translator would not have rendered (רני)ה "He" by "You"; if anything — though even this tendency is quite foreign to our translator — the process would be expected to be the reverse. We may, then, assume that the LXX read תְּרֵנִי in its *Vorlage*.

But we may go further and make a very good case for תרני being the original reading in our passage: (1) If the received text had been subject to any correction, the process would have been in the direction of ה to ת, rather than the other way about; (2) LXX תרני fits into the context better than the received הרני, in that the verbs in the following verses are all in the 2nd person singular, viz., תַּעֲנֵנִי and וַתַּחְבּוֹנֵן in v. 20; תַּהֲפֹךְ and תִּשְׁטְמֵנִי in 21; תְּרַכְּבֵנִי, וְחִמַּנְנֵנִי, and תְּשָׁאֵנִי in 22; (3) ה and ת do not look alike in the earlier, Aramaic scripts (when the LXX translation of Job was made); they will come to resemble each other in the later scripts. Everything else being equal, therefore, the reading of the LXX *Vorlage* is to be preferred, with the preserved reading being readily explained as due to graphic confusion. (See further below, § C.) On the equation *ἡγέομαι* "to deem" = תרני/ה, see Chap. VI, "The Exegesis of the Septuagint of the Book of Job."

20. 33.17 (לְהָסִיר אָדָם מַעֲשֵׂהוּ וּגְוָה) מִגֶּבֶר (יְכַסֶּה: יַחְשֹׂךְ נַפְשׁוֹ מִנִּי־שָׁחַת וְחַיָּתוֹ מִעֲבֹר בְּשֶׁלַח) / (*ἀποστρέψαι ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀδικίας, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ*) *ἀπὸ πτώματος* (*ἐρρύσατο* . . .), "(. . . and his body) from a fall (He covered [delivered])." There can be little doubt that the LXX read something different from מִגֶּבֶר. According to Dathe,[42] Schleusner, Wutz (p. 96), Dhorme, Beer (BH[3]), the LXX read מִשָּׁבֶר; *πτῶμα* / *πτῶσις* = שֶׁבֶר a few times in the Bible. (The LXX text of 41.17 differs from received מִשְׁבָּרִים יִתְחַשָּׂאוּ.) Another possibility, although it entails also metathesis, is מִפֶּגֶר (so in Nahum 3.3; and Theodotion in Ezek. 6.5), since in some dialects the labials ב and פ resembled each other in sound.

Whether the LXX *Vorlage*, be it מִשָּׁבֶר or מִפֶּגֶר, or the like, is superior to the received מִגֶּבֶר, is something else again; it does fit in well with what follows (v. 18, מִעֲבֹר בְּשֶׁלַח; מִנִּי־שָׁחַת). But then מִגֶּבֶר goes better with אָדָם in the first stich of our verse, and the two constitute fine parallel terms (cf. in Job, 14.10 וְגֶבֶר יָמוּת וַיֵּחָלֵשׁ // וַינְוַע אָדָם וְאַיֵּהוּ; 16.21 וְיוֹכַח לְגֶבֶר עִם־אֱלוֹהַּ וּבֶן־אָדָם לְרֵעֵהוּ, where the second stich is lacking in the

[42] J. A. Dathe, *Jobus, Proverbia . . . notisque philologicis et criticis illustrati* (Halae, 1789).

LXX); גֶּבֶר and אֱנוֹשׁ are the parallel terms employed by our author in 4.17; 10.5; 34.34. Those who have retained גֶּבֶר have generally interpretated גַּוָּה as from גַּאֲוָה "pride" (so, e. g., Saadia, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, KJ, JPS, RSV, La Sainte Bible).

It may be noted here that Holmes-Parsons 106 and 261 read (ἀπὸ) φόβου "(from) fear" (in place of πτώματος); but this reading makes no sense, and it is probably to be explained as deriving from v. 16b: (אָז יִגְלֶה אזֶן אֲנָשִׁים) וּבְמִסְרָם יַחְתָּם / ἐν εἴδεσιν φόβου τοιούτοις αὐτοὺς ἐξεφόβησεν (=יחתם). By the same token, the reading (ἀπὸ) ἀδικίας (πτώματος) in a very few mss. (see ed. Rahlfs) probably derives by dittography of ἀδικίας in the preceding stich.

21. 40.15 (הִנֵּה־נָא בהֵמוֹת) אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתִי עִמָּךְ (חָצִיר כַּבָּקָר יֹאכֵל) / (ἀλλὰ δὴ ἰδοὺ θηρία) παρὰ σοί. It is clear that אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי has no equivalent in the LXX, and it seems probable that it was lacking in the LXX *Vorlage*. For one thing, there seems to be no reason for the translator having refrained from reproducing this phrase. Again, these two words add nothing materially to the argument and, in addition, spoil an otherwise pretty consistent 3:3 meter in the chapter. There is no point in אשר עשיתי here, when everything that God has said from chap. 38 on (cf., e. g., 38.4, אֵיפֹה הָיִיתָ בְיָסְדִי־אָרֶץ) indicated time and again that He had created and was maintaining the earth, the stars, the animals, etc. אשר עשיתי is precisely the sort of prosaic, explanatory expression that a scribe would jot down in the margin and that would later enter the text proper; it may well be excised as a post-LXX gloss.

THE INSERTIONS IN THE THIRD BENEDICTION OF THE HOLY DAY 'AMIDOTH

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I

The Two Categories of Insertions*

THERE are two categories of insertions in the benedictions of the 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement. The first comprises prayers inserted in the 'Amidah that is recited silently by the individual (*tefillah be-laḥash*) as well as in the repetition thereof by the Reader (*ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*). To this category belong, among others,[1] זכרנו לחיים וכו' in the first benediction; מי כמוך אב הרחמים וכו' in the second; וכתוב לחיים וכו' in the one before the last benediction;

* The following abbreviations are employed in this study:

Ashk. = The Ashkenazic (Polish) Rite as represented in *Maḥzor 'Avodath 'Ohel Mo'ed*, ed. A. Davis and H. M. Adler: Rosh Hashanah Volume (London, 1906); Yom Kippur in two Volumes (London, 1904).

It. = The Italian, or Roman, Rite: *Maḥzor Roma* with *Qimḥa' da-'Avishuna* commentary (Bologna, 1540). On this edition see S. D. Luzzatto's Letters, pp. 434 and 458; and Jewish Theological Seminary of America Register 1929–30, p. 160.

MV. = *Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz (Nürnberg, 1923 reprint).

Maim. = Maimonides' *Seder Tefilloth kol ha-Shanah*, ed. E. D. Goldschmidt, in *Yedi'oth ha-Makhon le-Ḥeqer ha-Shirah ha-'Ivrith*, vol. VII (Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv, 1958), pp. 189–213.

Pers. = The Persian Rite: *JQR* (Old Series), X, pp. 601–25.

SRA. = *Seder Rav Amram ha-Shalem*, ed. A. L. Frumkin (Jerusalem, 1912), Vol. II.

SRS. = *Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon*, ed. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel (Jerusalem, 1941).

Sef. = The Sefardic Rite employed by Oriental Jewries: *Zekhor le-'Avraham* (Leghorn, 1948), vol. I, Rosh Hashanah; vol. II, Yom Kippur; or *Maḥzor Tefillath Yesharim* (Jerusalem, 1958), vol. I, Rosh Hashanah; vol. II, Yom Kippur.

Yem. = The Yemenite Rite: *Tikhlal Shivath Ẓiyyon* (Jerusalem, 1952), ed. J. Kafih, vol. III (Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur).

When references to pages are indicated, they are to the respective texts listed above. References to pages for Ashk., It., Sef., and Yem. were deemed unnecessary.

[1] See below, section II.

and וכו' בספר חיים in the last. These insertions, originally designed for the New Year only,[2] in the course of time became an integral part of all 'Amidoth during the entire period of the Ten Days of Penitence.[3]

The second type of insertions consists of such as are excluded from *tefillah be-laḥash* but included in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*. We do not refer to the payyetanic insertions of *Qerovoth*. For apart from the latter, there are insertions of an altogether different genre in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of the 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement. The following, among others,[4] belong to this category:

1. The prayer וכתוב לחיים וכו', mentioned above, is inserted in Ashk. in both *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* in the benediction before the last. However, in the same rite, in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of the 'Amidah of *Musaf* on Rosh Hashanah and of all 'Amidoth of Yom Kippur, וכתוב לחיים וכו' is preceded by: אבינו מלכנו זכור רחמיך וכבוש כעסך . . . מעלינו ומעל כל בני בריתך וכלה דבר. This insertion, minus אבינו מלכנו, is part of the 'Amidoth of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in both *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* in It. The latter is in agreement in this regard with SRA.[5] and MV.[6] which prescribe it in *tefillah be-laḥash*. Ashk., on the other hand, omits it in *tefillah be-laḥash* but inserts it in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*.

2. In וידוי of *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of all 'Amidoth of the Day of Atonement except that of *Ne'ilah*, Ashk. and It. include the following insertion: אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו סלח ומחל לעונותינו . . . וכוף את יצרנו להשתעבד לך והכנע ערפנו לשוב אליך וחדש כליותינו לשמור פקודיך ומול את לבבנו לאהבה וכו'. This prayer, found elsewhere only in the Palestinian ritual in *tefillah be-laḥash* of Yom Kippur,[7] is apparently the Palestinian parallel to אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו מחל לעונותינו . . . כאמור אנכי אנכי הוא מוחה פשעיך וכו', contained in both *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of all Yom Kippur 'Amidoth in all rites.[8]

3. After the conclusion of וידוי in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of the *Shaḥarith*, *Musaf* and *Minḥah* 'Amidoth of the Day of Atonement in Ashk.,

[2] See S. Baer, *Seder 'Avodath Yisra'el* (Rödelheim, 1868), p. 383.

[3] For a likely reason for this phenomenon, see L. Ginzberg, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud* (= *CPT*), IV (New York, 1961), pp. 233 and 258–59.

[4] See below, section II.

[5] On pp. 293–94, though ועל כלם יתברך וכו' intervenes, as it does also in It., between זכור רחמיך וכו' and וכתוב לחיים וכו'.

[6] On pp. 384 and 390.

[7] *HUCA*, II (1925), p. 331; and I (1924), p. 385.

[8] I. Davidson, *'Ozar ha-Shirah we-ha-Piyyut*, I (New York, 1924), p. 222, no. 4826.

R. Ẓadoq's "short Sabbath eve prayer"[9] commencing with ומאהבתך ה' אלהינו is inserted, being "a remnant of the Palestinian ritual."[10] Indeed, it is part of the Yom Kippur 'Amidah of the Palestinian order of service.[11] Elsewhere this liturgical composition is in the central section of the 'Amidah of the Sabbath eve service in SRA.;[12] SRS.;[13] and It.[14]

4. Between the two parts of the prologue to *malkhuyyoth* (עלינו לשבח וכו' and על כן נקוה וכו') in *ḥazarath ha-shaṣ* of the New Year 'Amidah of *Musaf* and as an introduction to the *'Avodah* of the Day of Atonement 'Amidah of *Musaf*, Ashk. inserts two prayers, the first, אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו היה עם פיפיות וכו', and the second, אוחילה לאל וכו'. While the latter unquestionably belongs to the type of composition whose technical designation is רשות, and in which the Reader speaks on his own behalf in the first person, the former, on careful inspection, is a prayer offered by the worshippers in behalf of the Reader.[15] That היה עם פיפיות וכו' was a prayer voiced by the congregation is evident from the fact that in the Palestinian ritual[16] it is an integral part of what presumably is a *tefillah be-laḥash*.[17]

The insertions in *ḥazarath ha-shaṣ* listed above warrant the inference that a number of prayers, not admitted into *tefillah be-laḥash*, found their way into *ḥazarath ha-shaṣ* of the 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement. And inasmuch as the last three prayers in the above group are otherwise found in the Palestinian ritual, their

[9] Tosefta Berakhoth, 3:7, ed. S. Lieberman, pp. 13–14; and Lieberman's *Tosefta Ki-Feshutah*, Berakhoth, p. 35.

[10] J. Mann, *HUCA*, II (1925), p. 313, note 98.

[11] I. Elbogen, *MGWJ*, LV (1911), p. 598.

[12] On pp. 18–19.

[13] On pp. 111–12.

[14] See further A. I. Schechter, *Studies in Jewish Liturgy* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 60; and L. Ginzberg, *CPT*, IV, p. 204.

[15] Contrary to A. Berliner, *Randbemerkungen zum täglichen Gebetbuche*, II (Berlin, 1912), p. 62 (Hebrew translation: *Kethavim Nivḥarim*, I [Jerusalem, 1945], p. 131); and I. Davidson, *'Ozar*, I, p. 222, no. 4821.

[16] Elbogen, *MGWJ*, LV, p. 442.

[17] L. Ginzberg, *CPT*, IV, p. 266 is of the opinion that היה עם פיפיות וכו' is, in the fragment registered in the preceding note, part of *ḥazarath ha-shaṣ*, and hence intended for the Reader. This, however, cannot be determined with perfect certainty. As a matter of fact, even אוחילה לאל וכו' is not altogether unknown as present in *tefillah belaḥash* as well. See SRA., ed. Frumkin, II, p. 302, Variant Readings, note 1; and p. 348, Variant Readings, note 4. As for היה עם פיפיות וכו', its text makes it abundantly clear that it is a prayer by the congregation in behalf of the Reader.

admission into (the Babylonian) *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* is reflective of a conscious desire especially to preserve prayers of Palestinian provenience.[18]

II

The Three Insertions in the Third Benediction

The third benediction, designated as *qedushath ha-Shem* in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:5, contains in Ashk. two insertions both in *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of the 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement which in some localities, according to Maimonides, were part of the 'Amidoth during the entire period of the Ten Days of Penitence.[19] The first insertion consists of four paragraphs: (1) ובכן תן פחדך וכו'; (2) ובכן תן כבוד וכו'; (3) ובכן צדיקים וכו'; and (4) ותמלוך אתה וכו'.[20] No mention is made of this four-part prayer in either the Mishnah or the Talmud. It stems from the period of the Geonim, appearing for the first time in SRA.,[21] though not in SRS.[22]

The second insertion is the paragraph immediately following U. in Ashk. in accordance with SRA.[23] It commences with קדוש אתה ונורא שמך,[24] being the Palestinian recension of the third benediction of the 'Amidah.[25] In the weekday 'Amidah it contains no scriptural verse.[26] In the 'Amidoth of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, however, Isa. 5:16 is interpolated in this benediction in SRA.[27] and SRS.[28]

In addition, the third benediction in Ashk. furnishes another instance of an insertion excluded from *tefillah be-laḥash* but included in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*. Its position is immediately preceding U. in *ḥazarath*

[18] Cf., in another connection, L. Ginzberg, *CPT*, III (New York, 1941), p. 21; also *CPT*, IV, p. 202.

[19] See *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhoth Tefillah*, 2:19 and Ginzberg's comment thereon in *CPT*, IV, pp. 233–34.

[20] The abbreviation U. designates hereafter the four paragraphs of this prayer.

[21] On p. 292; cf. pp. 299, 302, 344, 348, 351, and 355.

[22] See Assaf's Introduction, p. 27. On SRS.'s omission of U. see Ginzberg, *CPT*, IV, pp. 230–32.

[23] See p. 292.

[24] Cf. Sifre Deuteronomy, section 343, ed. Finkelstein, p. 395.

[25] I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 3rd edition (Frankfurt am Main, 1931), p. 517.

[26] Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, *loc. cit.*

[27] On p. 292 *infra*.

[28] On p. 220. Contrast p. 18 (the weekday 'Amidah). On the insertion of Isa. 5:16, see Ginzberg, *CPT*, IV, pp. 173–74.

ha-shaẓ of the 'Amidoth of *Shaḥarith*, *Minḥah* and *Ne'ilah* on Yom Kippur, the first of which comprises the full text, while the last two omit the concluding part. To facilitate subsequent analysis, the complete text, unique to Ashk., is divided as follows:

A

חמול על מעשיך ותשמח במעשיך
ויאמרו לך חוסיך בצדקך עמוסיך
תקדש אדון על כל מעשיך:
כי מקדישיך בקדשתך קדשת
נאה לקדוש פאר מקדושים:

B

באין מליץ ישר מול מניד פשע
תגיד ליעקב דבר חק ומשפט
וצדקנו במשפט המלך המשפט:

C

עוד יזכר לנו אהבת איתן אדוננו
ובבן הנעקד ישבית מדיננו
ובזכות התם יוציא איום לצדק דיננו
כי קדוש היום לאדונינו (Neh. 8:10):

D

ובכן יתקדש שמך ה' אלהינו על ישראל
עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל ציון משכן
כבודך ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך
ועל מכונך והיכלך:

E

תשגב לבדך ותמלוך על כל ביחוד
ככתוב על יד נביאך (Zech. 14:9)
והיה ה' למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא
יהיה ה' אחד ושמו אחד:

The above five-part insertion in Ashk.[29] is also part of *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of *Musaf* both on Rosh Hashanah and on Yom Kippur where, however, it follows a different sequence, namely: A, D, C, B, E.

[29] Hereafter the abbreviation Ḥ. is employed to designate this prayer.

According to this arrangement, D which opens with ובכן יתקדש is grouped together with A where תקדש אדון and כי מקדישיך וכו׳ occur. And C changes places with B, in order that its last line, וצדקנו במשפט המלך המשפט, might provide a suitable verbal link with האוחז ביד מדת משפט, the opening line of the *piyyut* that directly follows.[30] E is placed after this *piyyut*. Accordingly, whichever of the two sequences is followed, E is the closing part, marking the end of Ḥ. and the beginning of U.

Though E is deleted from *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of *Minḥah* and *Ne'ilah* on Yom Kippur, it is nonetheless an integral part of the prayer in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of *Musaf* on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, as well as of *Shaḥarith* on Yom Kippur.

Though, as has been observed, Ashk. is unique in its inclusion of the five parts of Ḥ., two of these, A and D, are also extant in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of the four 'Amidoth on Yom Kippur in It. In the latter rite, D in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of *Shaḥarith*, *Musaf* and *Minḥah* is identical with Ashk., while in *Ne'ilah* the words ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך are lacking. As for A, It.'s version reads:

חמול על מעשיך ותשמח במעשיך
שפוט בצדק עמוסיך (variant: מעשיך) ותקדש במעשיך:

Only one part of Ḥ., namely D, is discernible in rites other than Ashk. and It. However, whereas the latter two rituals confine D to *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*, other rites include it in *tefillah be-laḥash* as well. So Pers.[31] in the 'Amidah of the evening service of the New Year. Preceding U. the worshipper recites: ובכן יתנדל ויתקדש שמך על כל אלהינו ה׳ מעשיך על ישראל עמך ועל ירושלים עירך ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל זרע אהרן עם קדושך ועל שבט לוי משרתיך על עירך ועל המוניך ועל עדת ישורון שבטי נחלתך. Three points are worthy of note: (1) the opening ובכן יתנדל ויתקדש[32] instead of ובכן יתקדש in Ashk. and It.; (2) the placing of על כל מעשיך before על ישראל עמך; and (3) the repetition of עירך. All in all, this version of D has the semblance of an embellishment of the form of the text in Ashk. and It.

Yem. and Sef. likewise include D in both *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* directly before U. In these rites, however, the text is abridged as follows: ובכן יתקדש שמך ה׳ אלהינו על ישראל עמך.

[30] It should be noted that in M. Zulay, *Piyyute Yannai* (Berlin, 1938), p. 336, this *piyyut* is preceded by יבכי יתקדש שמך ה׳ אלהינו על ישראל עמך, which, in turn, is preceded by the last two lines of A (with כערכך in place of ברשעך). According to Zulay, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–29, footnote, *infra*, it is not altogether certain that Yannai was the author of האוחז ביד מדת משפט.

[31] *JQR* (Old Series), X, p. 614.

[32] Reminiscent of the opening words of the *Qaddish*.

In sum, whereas in Ashk. and It. ובכן יתקדש וכו', part of the long version of Ḥ. in the former and of the short version thereof in the latter, constitutes an insertion in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* only, in Pers., Yem. and Sef. it is an integral part of *tefillah be-laḥash* as well.

III

The Number of Paragraphs Commencing with *U-Vekhen*

The introduction of ובכן יתקדש וכו' into *tefillah be-laḥash* in Pers., Yem. and Sef., in contradistinction to Ashk. and It. which restrict it to *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*, posed the problem: How many paragraphs commencing with *u-vekhen* are there? This question is, in fact, the subject of a Responsum,[33] erroneously ascribed, according to S. Assaf,[34] to R. Hai Gaon. The unequivocal reply is that there are no more than three.[35] The Responsum then proceeds to specify the paragraphs constituting the prayer as follows:

(1) ובכן יתגדל[36] שמך ה' אלהינו
(2) ובכן תן פחדך ה' אלהינו
(3) ובכן תן כבוד
(4) ואז צדיקים יראו וישמחו

With respect to paragraph (4) following the three *u-vekhen* paragraphs, the Responsum declares emphatically: מכאן ולהלאה אין שם ובכן אלא אומר ואז צדיקים יראו וישמחו. A stand in direct opposition to the pseudo-Hai Responsum is taken by R. Ḥayyim Vital[37] who asserts: ד' . . . פעמים ובכן דאצטריכו למימר והם ובכן יתקדש וכו' ובכן תן פחדך וכו' ובכן תן כבוד כו' ובכן צדיקים וכו' . . . דע כי ד' פעמים נזכרו בכאן מלות ובכן שלא כדברי הפוחתים ממנין זה ונורעים ומשנים כפי העולה בדעתם.

Pseudo-Hai's Responsum bases its view on mystical doctrine, as is evident from its statement:[38] והני תלתא איתּ בהו מלין טמירין דאתמסרו לחכימין. As for Ḥayyim Vital, being a disciple and spiritual heir of R. Isaac Luria, he obviously also operates with kabbalistic interpretation. At the core of both these sources is the exegesis that the word

[33] In *Sha'are Teshuvah . . . . Teshuvoth ha-Geonim* (Leipzig, 1858), section 297, 27b.

[34] In his Introduction to SRS., p. 27, note 47.

[35] Similarly, the Kabbalist Meir ibn Gabbai in *Tola'ath Ya'akov* (Zolkiew, 1799), 36b–37a.

[36] Instead of יתקדש.

[37] In *Sha'ar ha-Kawwanoth*, Part II = *Sidrath Kithve Rabbenu ha-'Ari*, Part X (Tel-Aviv, 1962), pp. 254–55.

[38] See the reference above, in note 33.

ובכן is a proper noun, in the nature of a substitute for the divine name[39] — a view rejected by Abudarham.[40]

The importance of the divergence of opinion with regard to the number of *u-vekhen* paragraphs is that it helps to explain the variations in the different rites. Thus, in consonance with the pseudo-Hai Responsum are Pers.[41] and Yem. in both *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* on the New Year and the Day of Atonement, and It. in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of the 'Amidoth on the Day of Atonement. On the other hand, Ḥayyim Vital's influence is discernible in Sef. in both *tefillah be-laḥash* and *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* on the New Year and the Day of Atonement, and in Ashk. in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ* of *Musaf* on the New Year and of all the 'Amidoth on the Day of Atonement. It will be observed that Ashk. resorts to a liturgical compromise, incorporating only three *u-vekhen* paragraphs in *tefillah be-laḥash* and four, in *ḥazarath ha-shaẓ*.

The fact that other rites conform neither to the pseudo-Hai Responsum nor to R. Ḥayyim Vital proves that the matter of the number of paragraphs commencing with *u-vekhen* was not taken seriously in all quarters. Despite this consideration, however, the reading ואז צדיקים in lieu of ובכן צדיקים as prescribed by the pseudo-Hai Responsum gained a foothold. Thus, while the Palestinian ritual[42] contains only two or three paragraphs beginning with *u-vekhen*, MV.,[43] Maim.[44] and It. in *tefillah be-laḥash*, though omitting ובכן יתקדש וכו', nevertheless comprise only two *u-vekhen* paragraphs, ובכן תן פחדך וכו' and ובכן תן כבוד וכו', the third commencing with (צדיקים) ואז and not with ובכן. Two points should be noted. First, contrary to its usual practice, Yem., though reading (צדיקים) ואז for ובכן like Maim., nevertheless deviates from the latter by the inclusion of ובכן יתקדש וכו'. Second, MV.'s comment[45] that the reading ואז צדיקים is based on the biblical precedent of אז צדיקים in Ps. 140:14 is indeed strange, for this verse in the masoretic text reads אך צדיקים and not אז צדיקים.

In concluding the subject of the number of *u-vekhen* paragraphs, it is important to recall that the liturgical composition occurring for

[39] Regarding ובכן, the pseudo-Hai Responsum, *loc. cit.*, states: רמז לשם מיוחד; and Ḥayyim Vital, *op. cit.*, remarks: ובכן הוא בניפטריא ע"ב ונודע כי שם בן ע"ב הוא וכו'.

[40] In ed. Jerusalem, 1959, p. 262.

[41] On pp. 614–15.

[42] Cf. *MGWJ*, LV, p. 442 with pp. 594–95.

[43] On pp. 383, 389.

[44] On pp. 205–06.

[45] On p. 367. This comment is reproduced by Frumkin in his edition of SRA., II, p. 276.

the first time in SRA.[46] consists of only three such, namely: (1) ובכן תן פחדך וכו'; (2) ובכן תן כבוד וכו'; and (3) ובכן צדיקים וכו'. SRA. does not contain ובכן יתקדש וכו'; and Ashk. adopts SRA.'s text only in *tefillah be-laḥash*.

IV

Similarities and Differences Between Ḥ. and U.

The examination of Ḥ. above in section II was predicated on the assumption that it is as much a liturgical unit as U. That this is actually so is evident from Ḥ.'s structure which reveals a systematic arrangement of its parts. This composition is delimited by the establishment of a verbal connection between the beginning and the end,[47] both of which strike a note of universalism. In A it is על מעשיך ותשמח (חמול) and במעשיך על כל מעשיך (תקדש אדון), while in E it is על כל (ותמלוך). Furthermore, A, B and C are united by the stem צדק. The word בצדקך in A tallies with וצדקנו in B, and the latter, in turn, with לצדק in C. The transition from C to D is clear, for כי קדוש in the Nehemiah citation in C is an appropriate link with ובכן יתקדש in D. And the word מלכות in the latter connects with ותמלוך in E. In view of this survey of the structure of Ḥ., the conclusion is justified that it constitutes a unitary composition consisting of five interconnected parts.

We next proceed to focus on Ḥ.'s similarities to U. The latter too opens with על כל מעשיך (in the first paragraph) and closes with the same words (in the last paragraph). Moreover, like Ḥ. which concludes with ותמלוך על כל and Zech. 14:9 containing למלך, so U. ends with ותמלוך אתה and Ps. 146:10 containing ימלך. Furthermore, though only Ḥ. makes reference to the Temple,[48] yet the mention of the people of Israel, of the city of Jerusalem, of Zion the abode of the divine glory, and of David the Messiah is common to both Ḥ. and U.

Another resemblance, of a stylistic character, between Ḥ. and U. is discernible in the employment of a series of suffix rhymes. This

[46] See above, note 21.

[47] There is biblical precedent for this stylistic device. See my "Psalms 34 and 145 in the Light of their Key Words," *HUCA*, XXVII (1956), pp. 190–92.

[48] In D: מכונך והיכלך. In the Palestinian ritual (*MGWJ*, LV, p. 595), Maim. (p. 206), Yem. and It., U. contains ירושלים עירך. MV. (pp. 383, 389) and Ashk. read: ובירושלים עיר קדשך. Only SRA. (Variant Readings in II, p. 292, note 4*) and Sef. have the reading ובירושלם עיר מקדשך. Apart from the last mentioned, in which it is readily understandable how כדשך would easily become מקדשך, U. makes no explicit mention of the Temple, but only of the (sacred) city of Jerusalem.

device is quite pronounced in U. In Ḥ. it is employed to a lesser degree, being confined to A and C.

Striking as are the similarities, the differences between these two insertions in the third benediction are even more so; and the differences are not only stylistic, but also ideological. As regards differences of the first type, U. follows biblical precedent in the employment of (synonymous) parallelism, which is conspicuously absent in Ḥ. What is more, one need only consult the commentaries of Abudarham[49] and his successors S. Baer,[50] W. Jawitz[51] and A. L. Gordon,[52] in order to observe the extent to which scriptural reminiscences and allusions abound in U. Though Ḥ. too contains allusions to Scripture, they are of a different type, different in that biblical words are employed as symbolic epithets for Israel and the Patriarchs. Thus:[53] (1) עמוסיך (in A), after Isa. 46:3, is Israel; (2) איתן (in C) is equated with Abraham for the reason that איתן האזרחי in Ps. 89:1 is in Bava Bathra 15a identified by Rav with Abraham; and (3) התם (in C), after Gen. 25:27, is Jacob. To the same category belong מגיד פשע (in B) and מדיננו (in C) which are epithets for Satan; and the citation from Neh. 8:10 (in C) which is in place of ביום הזכרון הזה.[54] The only example of this literary device in U. is ומלכות העליזה,[55] an epithet for Rome, which in the Palestinian recension[56] follows ממשלת זדון, to which it is parallel. In this single instance in U., however, Rome, for obvious reasons, was not mentioned by name in the prayer.

Aside from the symbolic epithets that have been singled out, Ḥ. presents also another phenomenon. Wolf Heidenheim (*ad loc.*) has drawn attention to the fact that the words תגיד ליעקב דבר חק ומשפט (in B) presuppose a Midrash on Ps. 147:19, such as may be found in Tanḥuma Leviticus, ed. Buber, p. 108.

In view of the fact that Ḥ. has recourse to symbolic epithets and midrashic allusions, both characteristic of *piyyuṭ*, it must, on stylistic grounds, be stamped as a specimen of this genre of liturgical composition.

[49] In ed. Jerusalem, 1959, pp. 262–63.

[50] *Seder 'Avodath Yisra'el*, pp. 384–86.

[51] *Siddur 'Avodath ha-Levavoth* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 291–92.

[52] *Siddur 'Ozar ha-Tefilloth* (Vilna, 1914), in *'Iyyun Tefillah*, I, pp. 1023–27.

[53] In connection with the illustrations that follow cf. the *Matteh Levi* and *Beth Levi* commentaries *ad loc.*, as well as Wolf Heidenheim's commentary in the Rodelheim *Maḥzor, ad loc.*

[54] Discussed below, in this section.

[55] This expression occurs in *Mekhilta*, ed. Lauterbach (Philadelphia, 1933), I, p. 230.

[56] *MGWJ*, LV, p. 595.

We turn next to a consideration of the ideological differences between the two insertions in question. An element introduced into Ḥ. but altogether lacking in U. is the concept of Rosh Hashanah as a day of judgment. The citation from Neh. 8:10 (in C) is excerpted from the address delivered, according to Neh. 7:73 and 8:2, on the first day of the seventh month. Hence, the prayer most certainly alludes to Rosh Hashanah. And the words וצדקנו במשפט המלך המשפט (in B) manifestly associate Rosh Hashanah with God in the role of judge. What is more, these words are extracted from the Babylonian recension of the eleventh benediction of the weekday 'Amidah, המלך המשפט being the Amora Rav's required substitution during the Ten Days of Penitence for מלך אוהב צדקה ומשפט.[57]

Rav's additional, prescribed substitution in the third benediction of המלך הקדוש for האל הקדוש[57] during the Ten Days of Penitence accounts for the alternation of emphasis between God's holiness and kingship in Ḥ. Being an insertion in a benediction concluding with המלך הקדוש, Ḥ opens with stress on God's holiness in A and on His kingship in B. C refers to the holiness of the day, while D resumes the theme of divine holiness. And in E the prayer concludes with the hoped-for universal kingship of God. This alternation, incidentally, is another indication of the unity of Ḥ. as a liturgical composition.

On the surface, the idea of Rosh Hashanah as a day of judgment on which the divine judge determines man's fate (יוציא . . . דיננו in C) seems out of place in the third benedication in which Ḥ. is inserted. Such is not the case, however, for, apart from the ancient inherent connection between the functions of kingship and judgeship,[58] its relevance can be demonstrated if it be borne in mind that קדוש אתה ונורא שמך וכו', the insertion which follows U., is, as has been observed, the Palestinian recension of the third benediction of the 'Amidah. Like המלך המשפט, the incorporation of Isa. 5:16 in this benediction of the 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement is of Babylonian origin.[59] And it is the words במשפט and והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה (in Isa. 5:16), applied to God's judgment of man on Rosh Hashanah, that inspired Ḥ., thereby rendering it an appropriate insertion in the third benediction of the 'Amidoth on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

[57] See Berakhoth 12b.

[58] Apart from the consideration that Solomon exercised both prerogatives, that of royalty as well as that of judgeship, a number of Psalms associate these two functions. See especially Pss. 96 (vv. 10, 13), 97 (vv. 1–2), 98 (vv. 6, 9), and 99 (vv. 1, 4).

[59] See above, notes 27 (SRA.) and 28 (SRS.).

One part of Ḥ., however, can by no manner of means be deemed a suitable subject for the third benediction of the 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement. That part is C, a supplication that God remember Abraham's love for Him, Isaac's plight as he lay bound on the altar, and Jacob's merit. The opening words of C, עוד יזכר לנו, are reminiscent of וזכר לנו ה' אלהינו in the epilogue to *zikhronoth* in the New Year 'Amidah of *Musaf*, as is also the appeal to the Patriarchs. C, accordingly, is a foreign element in an insertion in the third benediction; which is to say that, from a liturgical standpoint, *zikhronoth* have no place in *qedushath ha-Shem*. In this respect, consequently, Ḥ. differs radically from U. whose theme is limited to *malkhuyyoth* (ותמלוך אתה וכו').[60]

What are the inferences that may legitimately be drawn from the foregoing analysis of the stylistic and ideological aspects of Ḥ.? To begin with, it cannot be stated categorically that this liturgical composition originated in Palestine, since the Genizah fragments published thus far have failed to produce any trace of it, not even of the segment thereof commencing with ובכן יתקדש.[61] This much, however, can be said regarding Ḥ. On the one hand, it presupposes a knowledge of the epilogue to *zikhronoth*, which might stamp it as tannaitic.[62] Likewise, the portrayal of Rosh Hashanah as a day of judgment, though Rav was the first to introduce this concept in אתה זוכר וכו', the prologue to *zikhronoth*, is of tannaitic origin, so that Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 1:2 might have been the source of Ḥ. On the other hand, Ḥ. reflects a knowledge of Rav's prescription of המלך הקדוש and המלך המשפט during the Ten Days of Penitence. Even more striking is the fact that it quotes from the Babylonian recension of the eleventh benediction of the weekday 'Amidah, and though indirectly, shows acquaintance with the insertion of Isa. 5:16 in the third benediction of the 'Amidoth on the New Year and the Day of Atonement — an insertion first met with in Babylonian sources. Last but not least, the concept of Satan's specific activity on the New Year and the Day of Atonement belongs to the amoraic period,[63] as does also the reference to the binding of Isaac.[64]

In the light of these considerations, the conclusion is warranted

[60] On this point, see the discussion below, in section VI.

[61] The uncertainty regarding the authorship of ראוהו ביד מדת משפט (see above, note 30), which is preceded by ובכן יתקדש וכו', does not warrant the conclusion that either it or the last two lines of A were of Palestinian origin.

[62] See my "Aspects of the New Year Liturgy," *HUCA*, XXXIV (1963), pp. 153–59.

[63] See L. Blau, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XI, s. v. Satan, pp. 68–71.

[64] See pp. 146–47 in the essay referred to above, in note 62.

that Ḥ. could not have been composed before the middle of the third century C. E. Its style unmistakably indicates that it belongs to the period marking the formative stage in the evolution of the *piyyut*. Also a product of the same stage, in all probability, is the alphabetical acrostic which commences with ויאתיו and is inserted, in conformity with MV.,[65] between the third and fourth paragraphs of U. in *ḥazarath ha-Shaẓ* of the New Year and the Day of Atonement 'Amidoth of *Musaf* in Ashk. If we accept J. Schirmann's cogent demonstration of an early date for the rise of *piyyut*,[66] Ḥ. and ויאתיו[67] may then be said to have been composed in the second half of the third, or some time in the fourth, century C. E.

V

The Palestinian and Babylonian Recensions of the Last Paragraph of U.

As I. Elbogen observed,[68] though the first three paragraphs of the Palestinian recension of U. are in the main identical with their Babylonian counterparts as represented in SRA. and its derivatives, the text of the last paragraph (commencing with ותמלוך אתה) differs radically in the two recensions.

Following are the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions, the latter as in SRA.:

Palestinian Recension[69]	*Babylonian Recension*[70]
	A
ותמלך אתה הוא ה' אלהינו	ותמלוך אתה ה' אלהינו מהרה
. . .	על כל מעשיך
בהר ציון ובירושלם עירך	בהר ציון משכן כבודך
ונגד זקניך כבוד	ובירושלם עיר מקדשך

[65] On pp. 386 (Rosh Hashanah) and 393 (Yom Kippur).

[66] "Hebrew Liturgical Poetry and Christian Hymnology," *JQR*, XLIV (1953), pp. 123–46.

[67] This exquisite composition derived its inspiration from על כן נקוה וכו'. The lines להעביר נלולים מן הארץ והאלילים וינחו את עצביהם ויחפרו עם פכיליהם were inspired by כרוה יכרתון; and ויקבלו עול מלכותך עליהם . . . ויכירו כח מלכותך clearly revert to ויקבלו כולם את עול מלכותך.

[68] *MGWJ*, LV, p. 593.

[69] *MGWJ*, LV, p. 595.

[70] For references see above, note 21

Babylonian Recension	*Palestinian Recension*
(Ps. 146:10)	ככתוב (Isa. 24:23)
ימלוך ה' לעולם אלהיך	וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה כי
ציון לדור ודור הללויה:	מלך ה' צבאות בהר ציון ובירושלם
	ונגד זקניו כבוד:
B	(Isa. 29:22–23)
קדוש אתה ונורא שמך	לכן כה אמר ה' אל בית יעקב
ואין אלוה מבלעדיך	אשר פדה את אברהם לא עתה
וכתוב (Isa. 5:16)	יבוש יעקב ולא עתה פניו יחורו:
ויגבה ה' צבאות	כי בראתו ילדיו מעשה ידי בקרבו
במשפט והאל הקדוש	יקדישו שמי והקדישו את קדוש יעקב
נקדש בצדקה	ואת אלהי ישראל יעריצו:
ברוך אתה ה'[1]	ברוך אתה ה' אדיר המלוכה
המלך הקדוש:	והאל הקדוש:

The basic difference between the two recensions is that the Palestinian combines the interrelated concepts of God's kingship and holiness[71] in ותמלוך אתה וכו', which concludes with the closing formula, or *ḫatimah*, of a benedictory prayer; while its Babylonian counterpart separates the two concepts, thus leaving the last paragraph of U. (A) without a *ḫatimah*, the latter being placed at the end of קדוש אתה ונורא שמך וכו' (B). Furthermore, the two recensions employ different sets of scriptural verses as "proof-texts" for the concepts of divine kingship and holiness. The Palestinian adduces Isa. 24:23 in support of the statement concerning God's reign on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem "and before Thy elders shall be glory"; and cites Isa. 29:22-23 in which the prophet envisions the day when Jacob's descendants shall sanctify the Holy One. The Babylonian recension, on the other hand, employs Ps. 146:10 (ימלך ה' וגו')[72] for the "kingship" verse and Isa. 5:16 (containing והאל הקדוש) for the "holiness" verse. Moreover, though the two recensions vary in their respective formulations of the *ḫatimah*, in essence the two are alike. In the Palestinian, the aspect of God's kingship is expressed by אדיר המלוכה, corresponding to which is the Babylonian

[71] The association of God's kingship or kingdom with His holiness is discernible in Ps. 99 which, opening with ה' מלך, contains, in the manner of a refrain, קדוש הוא at the end of vv. 3 and 5, and קדוש ה' אלהינו at the end of the last verse. Reflected in the ideological connection between the two concepts is the thought that the kingdom of God will be erected on the foundation of the ideal of holiness, in the sense of ethical perfection.

[72] This verse is also included before the *ḫatimah* ב' האל הקדיש in a Genizah fragment of an 'Amidah of *Musaf* for Yom Kippur. See *MGWJ*, LV, p. 442, *supra*.

המלך, whereas the Palestinian והאל הקדוש, which relates to the aspect of divine holiness, is the equivalent of the Babylonian הקדוש.

The influence of both the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions of ותמלוך אתה וכו' can be observed in Pers.,[73] Maim.[74] and Yem. The latter rites, while containing the Palestinian ritual's ונגד זקניך כבוד together with Isa. 24:23, deviate therefrom by omitting Isa. 29:22–23 and replacing it by the Torah "kingship" verse, Exod. 15:18, and the Babylonian "holiness" verse, Isa. 5:16. As for the *ḥatimah*, Pers.'s[75] אדיר המלוכה המלך הקדוש is a composite of the Palestinian and Babylonian texts, in contradistinction to Maim.[76] and Yem. which contain only the Babylonian המלך הקדוש. One element Pers., Maim. and Yem. have in common, namely, the last paragraph of U., as in the Palestinian ritual, closes with a *ḥatimah*, קדוש אתה ונורא שמך וכו' being conspicuously absent.

The Babylonian recension of ותמלוך אתה וכו' is reflected in MV.,[77] Ashk. and Sef. Unique is the version of this paragraph in It. Whereas the Babylonian recension incorporates the Palestinian קדוש אתה ונורא שמך וכו', It. omits it. The latter, accordingly, is consistently Babylonian. Following Ps. 146:10, Isa. 5:16 is introduced by וכתוב. As a result, as in the Palestinian recension, so in It. the last paragraph, i. e., ותמלוך אתה וכו', concludes with a *ḥatimah*.

VI

The Date and Function of the Four-Part *U-Vekhen* Prayer

The SRA. text of U. does not, as has been observed, contain ובכן יתקדש וכו', comprising only: ובכן תן כבוד וכו', ובכן תן פחדך וכו' and ובכן צדיקים וכו'.

R. Aaron b. Jacob (*ca.* 1300) in Part I of his *Orḥoth Ḥayyim*[78] expresses the opinion — an opinion repeated in the abridgment thereof, i. e., *Kol Bo*,[79] and encountered also in Abudarham[80] — that the three *u-vekhen* paragraphs in theme correspond respectively to the

[73] On p. 615.
[74] On p. 206.
[75] On p. 615.
[76] On p. 206.
[77] On pp. 383, 389.
[78] In the photostatic offprint (Jerusalem, 1956) of ed. Florence, 1750, 220a.
[79] In ed. Fürth, 1782, 53b.
[80] In ed. Jerusalem, 1959, p. 263.

members of the triad of the New Year 'Amidah of *Musaf*, namely, *malkhuyyoth*, *zikhronoth* and *shofaroth*. As for the fourth paragraph of U. (ותמלוך אתה וכו'), it is, in his words: מעין התימה סמוך לחתימה שחותם בה המלך הקדוש. To indicate the identity of theme, *Orḥoth Ḥayyim* points out that the first paragraph of U., as in *malkhuyyoth*, relates to God's universal kingship when all men shall band together to perform His will; the second, as in the epilogue to *zikhronoth*, constitutes the worshipper's entreaty that God remember to grant him well-being; and the third paragraph contains the idea of the Shofar by implication, for the removal of "the dominion of arrogance from the earth" will be heralded by the Shofar, initiating an era of freedom, as stated in the epilogue to *shofaroth*.

This attempt to match the contents of the three *u-vekhen* paragraphs with the members of the triad is neither satisfactory nor convincing, for it is strained and far-fetched. And yet, L. Landshuth and A. L. Gordon subscribe to the view of *Orḥoth Ḥayyim*. The former[81] maintains that U. is based on *malkhuyyoth*, *zikhronoth* and *shofaroth*, and that Rav's liturgical activity encompassed not only the substitution of המלך הקדוש and המלך המשפט in the *ḥatimoth* of the third and eleventh benedictions of the weekday 'Amidah during the Ten Days of Penitence and the composition of the prologues to *malkhuyyoth*, *zikhronoth* and *shofaroth*, but also the composition of U. as an abridgment of *malkhuyyoth*, *zikhronoth* and *shofaroth*. Inasmuch as there are thus two versions of *malkhuyyoth*, *zikhronoth* and *shofaroth*, Landshuth conjectures that U., the short version, was originally composed by Rav for only the 'Amidah of *Shaḥarith* on the New Year, and that subsequently, we must therefore assume, it was incorporated in all 'Amidoth of the New Year and the Day of Atonement.

Similarly, A. L. Gordon invokes the support of "ancient authorities"[82] to the effect that U. was composed in the Academy of Rav and adduces the Zohar in further support of this opinion.[83]

The fact, however, is that the elements of *zikhronoth* and *shofaroth* cannot be traced in U.[84] If anything can be detected with perfect certainty in this prayer, it is *malkhuyyoth*, and only *malkhuyyoth*. Hence, the regnant opinion is that the clue to the origin and purpose

[81] L. Landshuth, in *Siddur Hegyon Lev* (Königsberg, 1845), pp. 457–58.

[82] *Siddur 'Ozar ha-Tefilloth*, I, in *Tiqqun Tefillah*, p. 1023. He mentions הרדפנים, which is reminiscent of the following statement in the pseudo-Hai Responsum (see above, note 33) regarding U.: תקונא דא דפרישו רבנן קדפאי והיינו בתקיעתא דרב דאתא רב וחידש לן.

[83] *Zohar*, *Shemoth* (Vilna, 1882), 52a. This passage is also cited in the *Ez Ḥayyim* commentary in *Tikhlal* (Jerusalem, 1894), II, 60b.

[84] See Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, p. 536, note to p. 141.

of U. is to be found in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:5, which reports a controversy over the position to be assigned to the *malkhuyyoth* element, R. Akiba arguing that it be combined with *qedushath ha-yom*, the fourth benediction, and R. Johanan b. Nuri maintaining that it be joined to *qedushath ha-Shem*, the third benediction, of the 'Amidah. Furthermore, Tosefta Rosh Hashanah 2:11[85] informs us that in some localities the prevailing practice was in conformity with the view of R. Akiba, while in others it was in agreement with the position taken by R. Johanan b. Nuri. More specific is the statement in Yerushalmi Rosh Hashanah 4:6, ed. Krotoschin 59c, that in Judaea the custom was in accordance with the opinion of R. Akiba, whereas in Galilee it was in keeping with the view of R. Johanan b. Nuri.

Accordingly, U. which appears for the first time in SRA. must be viewed not in the light of the Amora Rav but of the Tanna R. Johanan b. Nuri. Some go so far as to ascribe its authorship to the latter. Thus, W. Jawitz[86] and L. A. Rosenthal[87] designate U. as סדר מלכיות דר' יוחנן בן נורי and "das Malkhuth des Jochanan ben Nuri," respectively; and J. Schirmann[88] speaks of "a well known prayer of the Tannaite R. Yoḥanan ben Nuri;" while H. Brody[89] has some reservations, representing R. Johanan b. Nuri as the author of U. with a question mark. On the other hand, other scholars maintain that U., a "*malkhuyyoth*" prayer in *qedushath ha-Shem*, was not composed by R. Johanan b. Nuri, but reflects his view that *malkhuyyoth* properly belongs in the third, not in the fourth, benediction of the 'Amidah. Thus Israel Lewy[90] states that U. is a *malkhuyyoth* prayer "im Sinne R. Jochanan b. Nuris." Similarly, I. Elbogen,[91] Z. Karl,[92] and L. Ginzberg.[93] And also in conformity with the view propounded by R. Johanan b. Nuri is the insertion אדיר המלוכה in the *ḥatimah* of the third benediction of the 'Amidah.[94]

[85] In ed. Lieberman, p. 316. See *his Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, Rosh Hashanah, p. 1052, note 44–45.

[86] *Meqor ha-Berakhoth* (Berlin, 1910), p. 28.

[87] "Die Malkhijot R. Jochanan ben Nuri's," in *David Hoffmann Festschrift* (Berlin, 1914), p. 236.

[88] *JQR*, XLIV (1953), p. 137.

[89] In H. Brody-M. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-'Ivrith* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 8.

[90] *Apud* I. Elbogen, "Die messianische Idee in den alten jüdischen Gebeten," in *Festschrift Cohen: Judaica* (Berlin, 1912), p. 673, note 3.

[91] *Gottesdienst*, p. 141.

[92] *Meḥqarim be-Toledoth ha-Tefillah* (Tel-Aviv, 1950), p. 126, note 136.

[93] While in *CPT*, I (New York, 1941), p. 174, Ginzberg denies that U. represents the opinion of R. Johanan, in IV, pp. 172 *infra*, 198 *supra*, and 207, he speaks of מלכיות על פי דעתו של (על דעת or) ר' יוחנן בן נורי (though with some reservations).

[94] Ginzberg, *CPT*, IV, p. 258.

As L. Ginzberg[95] views the matter, long before the Amoraic period when עלינו לשבח וכו' and על כן נקוה וכו' became the prologue to *malkhuyyoth*, the latter appended to the fourth benediction in accordance with R. Akiba's opinion, there were communities in Palestine, prior even to the controversy recorded in Rosh Hashanah 4:5, which recited U. in *qedushath ha-Shem* as the introduction to the *malkhuyyoth* verses. Ginzberg is aware that this hypothesis poses two problems:[96] first, if U. antedated the discussion between R. Akiba and R. Johanan b. Nuri, why was it not reckoned with in the above-mentioned Mishnah?; second, if U. was the prologue to *malkhuyyoth* in *qedushath ha-Shem*, where are the scriptural verses that should follow?

The first problem Ginzberg resolves by proposing that at the time R. Akiba and R. Johanan were debating as to where to insert *malkhuyyoth*, the recitation of U. had not yet enjoyed a wide circulation, being limited to local custom.[97] Though no solution is offered by Ginzberg to the second problem, L. A. Rosenthal and W. Jawitz have proposed an explanation. According to the former,[98] R. Johanan required, as recorded in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:6, only three verses for each member of the triad, one from the Pentateuch, a second from the Prophets and a third from the Psalms; and such verses are to be found in the *qedushah* of *Musaf* in the following order: Isa. 6:3, Deut. 6:4, and Ps. 146:10. This explanation is unsatisfactory for three reasons. First, U.'s function was to precede *malkhuyyoth* verses in the third benediction independently of the *qedushah*. Secondly, Isa. 6:3 is not a מלכות verse. Thirdly, there is no verse from the Pentateuch in 'Amidoth other than *Musaf*, for only in the latter is Deut. 6:4 included in the *qedushah*. More plausible is Jawitz's assumption[99] that the verses following U. were simply deleted.

Why this should have taken place is understandable. R. Akiba's view prevailed. The *malkhuyyoth* verses together with their epilogue were, accordingly, joined to *qedushath ha-yom*. At the same time, U. was not eliminated, but was in time universally admitted in Palestine in *qedushath ha-Shem*, the insertion אדיר המלוכה being included in the *ḥatimah* of this benediction, as well as in that of *qedushath ha-yom*. Once the *malkhuyyoth* verses were recited in *qedushath ha-yom*, to avoid redundancy they were removed from their position after U. in *qedushath ha-Shem*.

[95] *CPT*, IV, p. 226.
[96] The first is stated in *CPT*, IV, p. 230; the second, on p. 207.
[97] *CPT*, IV, p. 230.
[98] L. A. Rosenthal, in *Hoffmann Festschrift*, p. 237.
[99] *Meqor ha-Berakhoth*, p. 29 *supra*.

Though in Babylonia עלינו לשבח וכו' and על כן נקוה וכו' became the prologue to *malkhuyyoth* in *qedushath ha-yom*, the corresponding prologue to *malkhuyyoth* in *qedushath ha-Shem*, that is, U., was retained. Only one change was introduced. Instead of the Palestinian אדיר המלוכה והאל הקדוש in the *ḥatimah* of *qedushath ha-Shem* Rav prescribed המלך הקדוש.[100] But, though varying textually, both the Palestinian and the Babylonian recensions of this *ḥatimah* reflect R. Johanan b. Nuri's view that the rightful place of *malkhuyyoth* is in *qedushath ha-Shem*.[101] That his opinion should have been preserved in the liturgy when that of R. Akiba became the accepted norm can be accounted for, as noted by Rosenthal,[102] on the principle of הילכך נימרינהו לכולהו — a principle operative also in other instances in the liturgy.

What lends plausibility to Ginzberg's suggestion that U. antedated the debate in the Mishnah regarding the position of *malkhuyyoth* is the fact that S. Schechter,[103] F. Perles,[104] and M. Z. Segal,[105] on the basis of common phrases and expressions as well as ideas, conclude that U. unmistakably reveals the influence upon it of chapter 36 of Ben Sira. As regards similar phrases in both, it should however be observed in passing, that U. does not slavishly follow Ben Sira. To single out but one example: for ושים פחדך על in the latter, the former reads תן פחדך . . . על, which is reminiscent of נתן את־פחדו על וה' in I Chron. 14:17b. As for thought content, the kinship between U. and Ben Sira is undeniable; in which case, there is no reason to doubt that the composition of U. may well have antedated R. Johanan b. Nuri.

Apart from its affinity to Ben Sira, U. also has points of contact with other liturgical compositions. In their commentaries on the Prayer Book, W. Jawitz[106] and A. L. Gordon[107] detect respective parallels to U. in the prologue (על כן נקוה וכו') and epilogue (אוא"א מלוך וכו') to *malkhuyyoth*. The general theme of U. and of the said

[100] Berakhoth 12b.

[101] See L. Ginzberg, *Ginze Schechter*, II (New York, 1929), p. 640, note to p. 519.

[102] *Hoffmann Festschrift*, p. 238. The so-called מודים דרבנן is one of the examples cited by Rosenthal.

[103] S. Schechter - C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (Cambridge, 1899), Notes, p. 60; also S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series (Philadelphia, 1908), pp. 67–68.

[104] *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung* 1902, p. 493; and "Traces des Apocryphes et des Pseudépigraphes dans la Liturgie juive," *REJ*, LXXIII (1921), p. 173.

[105] *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem* (Jerusalem, 1953), p. 226 (note to 36:1); cf. Introduction, p. 42.

[106] *Meqor ha-Berakhoth*, p. 28.

[107] *Siddur 'Ozar ha-Tefilloth*, I, in *Tiqqun Tefillah*, p. 1023.

parallels is admittedly identical, namely, the devoutly hoped for acknowledgment by all mankind of God's sole sovereignty. Specifically, however, U. shows a strong kinship not with either the prologue or the epilogue to *malkhuyyoth*, but with benedictions XI to XIV of the weekday 'Amidah.

In the following examination of the Palestinian recension of U.[108] vis-à-vis benedictions XI to XIV of the weekday 'Amidah in the Palestinian ritual[109] attention will first be drawn to the vocabulary of these prayers, and then to their contents.

Corresponding to לעשות רצונך in U. is עושי רצונך (עם) in benediction XIII. Both U. and benediction XIV make mention of the people of Israel,[110] of Zion, and of the city of Jerusalem. The reference in U. to צדיקים and חסידים tallies with XIII, one Genizah fragment[111] of which opens with these words. The text of U. reads: ממשלת זדון (כי תעביר) מן הארץ ומלכות העליזה מהרה תעקר. As has been indicated previously, ומלכות העליזה alludes to the Roman government. The reading in XII is ומלכות זדון מהרה תעקר. The connotation of ממשלת זדון and of מלכות זדון is "the kingdom of tyranny," or "the tyrannical kingdom."[112] U.'s ותמלך אתה הוא ה' אלהינו (after which there is a lacuna) corresponds to ומלוך עלינו אתה לבדך in XI. U. contains a reference to the elders: וענד זקניך כבוד. Though the current form of XIII in the Palestinian recension does not refer to the elders, both Tosefta Berakhoth 3:25[113] and Yerushalmi Berakhoth 2:4, ed. Krotoschin 5a attest to the original presence of זקנים in this benediction. In this instance, the Babylonian counterpart of XIII containing ועל זקני עמך בית ישראל has preserved the original form of this benediction.[114]

The words צמיחת קרן לדוד עבדך ועריכת נר לבן ישי משיחך in U. allude to Ps. 132:17: שם אצמיח קרן לדוד ערכתי נר למשיחי. The nearest liturgical parallel in the Palestinian ritual is an earlier form of XIV and its counterpart in the benediction before the last, recited after the reading of the Haftarah.[115]

[108] *MGWJ*, LV, pp. 594–95.

[109] Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, p. 518.

[110] (וכן תן כבוד) לשמך in U. is obviously a slip for לעמך.

[111] See Mann, *HUCA*, II, p. 306 and the note thereto on p. 296.

[112] זדים connotes tyrants, and זדון, tyranny. The זדים in עזרת אבותינו are the Egyptians; and in the Hanukkah על הנסים prayer, the Syrian-Greeks. The context of U. clearly points to the Roman empire as the ממשלת זדון. Similarly, מלכות זדון in XII of the weekday 'Amidah. Cf. Ginzberg, *CPT*, III (New York, 1941), pp. 280–81.

[113] In ed. Lieberman, p. 18 *supra*; see his *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, Berakhoth, p. 54 *infra*.

[114] See Ginzberg, *CPT*, I, p. 337.

[115] See Ginzberg, *CPT*, III, pp. 277–79.

Turning to the ideological affinities between U. and benedictions XI to XIV, we observe that they have two historical allusions in common. The first is a prayer for the downfall of the Roman Empire as an indispensable preliminary to the manifestation of God's sovereignty. The basic difference between U. and the given 'Amidah benedictions derives from their varying aims. The weekly 'Amidah was designed to express the ideals and aspirations cherished by the totality of the Jewish people by impressing upon each worshipper the daily duty devolving upon him to offer supplications in behalf of his nation and its land and Temple.[116] In contradistinction to the nationalistic emphasis of the 'Amidah ("Be Thou alone king *over us*"), U. combines the universalistic with the nationalistic phases of the messianic era.

The second historical allusion common to both U. and benedictions XI to XIV pertains to "the elders." In the former we read ונגד זקניך כבוד, in the latter, ועל זקני עמך בית ישראל, which, as has been observed, was an integral part of the original, Palestinian form of benediction XIII, though now preserved only in its Babylonian counterpart. In the latter, ועל זקני עמך בית ישראל is directly followed by ועל פליטת סופריהם, a phrase found elsewhere only in Megillath Ta'anith and alluding to the Pharisees.[117] It has, accordingly, been suggested[118] that benediction XIII preserves the historic memory of the internal party struggle between the Pharisees and Sadducees, being a prayer in behalf of the former at a time when the latter were in control. With the dissolution of the Sadducean party, the Palestinian recension, perceiving no further need to offer a prayer in behalf of the Pharisees, eliminated it. The Babylonian recension, on the other hand, retained it. In the light of these remarks, ונגד זקניך כבוד in U. is a prayer for the restoration of the former glory of the Pharisees.

The thought sequence in U. contrasts sharply with that in the 'Amidah benedictions. The latter open in XI with a supplication for the manifestation of God's kingship over Israel; and inasmuch as the kingdom of God will be firmly established on the principles of justice and righteousness, the worshipper petitions for the restoration of judges of integrity who, as agents of God the sovereign, will implement those principles. In contrast to benediction XII which

[116] So the Gaon R. Elijah of Vilna, whom Ginzberg follows in *CPT*, I, p. 324 and III, p. 237.

[117] H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle, eine Untersuchung zur Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Geschichte," *HUCA*, VIII–IX (1931–32), p. 347. See Ginzberg, *CPT*, I, pp. 337–38.

[118] See Ginzberg, *loc. cit.*

sets down the pre-condition for the establishment of God's kingdom, namely, the utter destruction of Roman tyranny, XIII holds out the promise of reward to all whose faith in God never wavered nor faltered, but who executed His will. The climax is reached in XIV with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its Temple and the restoration of the Davidic dynasty.[119]

As regards U., it proceeds from the general to the particular. The first in the series of prayers constituting this liturgical composition voices the hope that all men, imbued with a sense of fear of, or reverence for, God, might unitedly perform His will. The transition is then made from this universalistic outlook to a particularistic one in the second prayer, which envisions the renewal of Israel's national glory. Singled out for renewed honor are those whose hope remained steadfast. The restoration of national honor will bring joy in its wake to Jerusalem and the Land of Israel, and accelerate the advent of the Davidic messiah. The third prayer pertains to the supreme joy that will prevail over the disappearance of tyrannical Rome. With the removal of the latter the climax is reached in the last prayer of the series, in which God is portrayed as the acknowledged sovereign of all mankind.

From the foregoing analysis it follows that both U. and benedictions XI to XIV are liturgical products of the period of Roman domination in the history of the Jewish people. The prayer in behalf of the Pharisees in benediction XIII and that for the restoration of their past glory in U. are reminiscent of a situation that existed prior to the destruction of the Temple. Though this historical reminiscence was deleted in the Palestinian recension of XIII, U. in the Palestinian ritual preserved it. In the generation following the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple, benediction XIV naturally became a prayer for the hoped for rebuilding of Jerusalem, as did also U. The role of the Jerusalem of the future varies, however, in the two liturgical compositions. In the Palestinian recension of XIV the envisagement is not only of a rebuilt Jerusalem, but also of its restored Temple (ועל היכלך ועל מכונך) and, impliedly, of the renewal of the sacrificial cult therein. In sharp contrast, U. makes no mention whatever of the Temple.[120] In its emphasis on the universalistic aspect of God's kingship the role of Jerusalem rebuilt in U. is, by implication, that of the prospective capital of the kingdom of God for all mankind.

[119] Cf. my "The Intermediate Benedictions of the '*Amidah*," *JQR*, XLII (1952), pp. 423–26; and my article, *s.v. Liturgy, Jewish*, in the forthcoming (1965) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

[120] See above, note 48.

From the standpoint of the nationalistic element that inspired benedictions XI to XIV the final goal to be attained is the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem. Altogether different in character is the ideal to be achieved according to U. In the latter the supreme objective to be realized is mankind's whole-hearted dedication to the task of performing the will of God.[121]

In view of the foregoing considerations there is every reason to date the composition of U. not later than the first century C. E.

[121] It is interesting to observe that in מודים דרבנן the purpose of the ingathering of the exiles is that they be restored "to the holy courts," i. e., of the Temple, in order to perform the will of God. The performance of God's will is thus bound up in this prayer with the restored Temple. In U., on the other hand, the performance of God's will is independent of the (rebuilt) Temple

A RABBINIC DEFENSE OF THE ELECTION OF ISRAEL

An Analysis of Sifre Deuteronomy 32:9, Pisqa 312

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THE purpose of this study is to demonstrate a variety of methods in the analysis and interpretation of midrashic texts. A close scrutiny of the formal structure of the argument; careful study of the proof-text both in biblical context and as understood in the total rabbinic literature; the ideational and social background of the midrashic lesson, all these are indispensable tools for text study and are too often neglected. Our analysis of the following Sifre passage focuses especially on the rabbinic use of the proof-text and on the form of the syllogism introduced by various technical, exegetic terms.

Ed. Friedmann (Ish-Shalom), p. 134b

(שיב) כי חלק ה' עמו משל למלך שהיה לו שדה ונתנה לאריסים התחילו האריסים נוטלים וגונבים אותה נטלה מהם ונתנה לבניהם התחילו להיות רעים יותר מן הראשונים נולד לו בן אמר להם צאו מחוך שלי אי אפשר שתהיו בתוכה תנו לי חלקי שאהיה מכירו כך כשבא אברהם אבינו לעולם יצא ממנו פסולת ישמעאל ובני קטורה בא אבינו יצחק לעולם יצא ממנו פסולת עשו אלופי אדום חזרו להיות רעים יותר מן הראשונים כשבא יעקב לא יצא ממנו פסולת אלא נולדו כל בניו כשרים כמותו שנאמר ויעקב איש תם יושב אהלים (בראשית כ"ה) מהיכן המקום מכיר את חלקו מיעקב שנאמר כי יעקב בחר לו יה ישראל [לסגלתו] (תהלים קל"ה)

Ed. Horovitz-Finkelstein, p. 353

(ט) כי חלק ה' עמו, משל למלך שהיה לו שדה ונתנה לעריסים התחילו עריסים גונבים אותה נטלה מהם ונתנה לבניהם התחילו להיות רעים מן הראשונים נטלה מבניהם ונתנה לבני בניהם חזרו להיות רעים יותר מן הראשונים נולד לו בן אמר להם צאו מתוך שלי אי אפשי שתהיו בתוכה תנו לי חלקי שאהיה מכירו כך כשבא אברהם אבינו לעולם יצאת ממנו פסולת ישמעאל וכל בני קטורה בא יצחק לעולם יצאת ממנו פסולת עשו וכל אלופי אדום חזרו להיות רעים יותר מן הראשונים וכשבא יעקב לא יצאת ממנו פסולת אלא נולדו כל בניו כשרים כענין שנאמר ויעקב איש תם יושב אהלים (בראשית כ"ה:כ"ז) מהיכן המקום מכיר את חלקו מיעקב

Ed. Friedman (Ish-Shalom), p. 134b—continued

ואומר כי חלק ה' עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו ועדין תלי בדלא תלי אין אנו יודעים אם המקום בחר לו ישראל לסגולתו ואם ישראל בחרו להקב"ה ת"ל [ו]בך בחר ה' אלהיך (דברים ז') מנין שאף יעקב בחר לו הקב"ה שנאמר לא כאלה חלק יעקב כי יוצר הכל הוא וישראל שבט נחלתו ה' צבאות שמו (ירמיה י'):

Ed. Horowitz-Finkelstein, p. 353—continued

שנאמר כי חלק ה' עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו ואומר כי יעקב בחר לו יה (תהלים קל"ה:ד') ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי ואין אנו יודעים אם הקדוש ברוך הוא בחר ביעקב אם יעקב בחר בהקדוש ברוך הוא תלמוד לומר ישראל לסגולתו (שם) ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי ואין אנו יודעים אם הקדוש ברוך הוא בחר לו ישראל לסגולתו ואם ישראל בחרו בהקדוש ברוך הוא תלמוד לומר ובך בחר ה' אלהיך להיות לו לעם סגולה (דברים י"ד:ב') ומנין שאף יעקב בחר בו ביה שנאמר לא כאלה חלק יעקב (ירמיה י':ט"ז)

I

The verse expounded by the Rabbis in this Sifre passage is Deut. 32:9: "For the portion of the Lord is His people, Jacob the lot of His inheritance." Note well the context of this verse. Moses, toward the end of his career, reviews the spiritual odyssey of Israel. He tells his people that though God chose them, cared for them, led them, nevertheless "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked," and "roused God to jealousy with strange gods . . ." Therefore, "The Lord saw and spurned . . . and He said 'I will hide my face . . . .' " The spirit of the major portion of Moses' utterance is chastisement, *tokheḥah*, rejection.[1]

[1] See Sifre Deut. 1 (ed. Finkelstein) p. 1 where the Book of Deuteronomy is characterized as דברי תוכחות on the basis of Deut. 32:15. It is very helpful, in probing the meaning of a Midrash, to consider the total context, the "magnetic field," of the biblical text, especially in the earlier, Tannaitic Midrashim. The Rabbis, it is true, often disregard context. They derive their lesson not infrequently by treating each verse and, at times, each phrase or even each word as an isolated entity. This is most typical of the pleonastic exegesis of the Midrash 'Aggadah. Yet, often, the Rabbis will cite the first half of a verse when the "proof" is contained in the latter part of the text or even in the following or preceding verse. On occasion, however, the total biblical passage is implicit in the subtlety of the exegesis. Our Sifre passage contains several examples of the significance of context, as will be demonstrated.

A

With the mood of Deuteronomy 32 as background, let us examine the first part of the Sifre comment.[2]

> "For the portion of the Lord is His people . . ." This is to be compared to a king who had a field and he gave it to tenants. The tenants began stealing it. He (the king) took it from them and gave it to their sons. They turned out to be worse than their predecessors. He took it from their sons and gave it to their grandchildren. They, in turn, were worse than their antecedents. A son was born to him (the king). He said to them (the tenants), 'Go forth from the midst of that which belongs to me. It is not my wish that you be in its midst. Give me my portion that I may make it known as my own.' Thus when Abraham our father came into the world, worthless offsprings issued from him, Ishmael and the sons of Qeṭurah; when Isaac our father came into the world, worthless progeny issued from him, Esau and the princes of Edom. They turned out to be worse than their predecessors. When Jacob arrived, no unworthy offspring issued from him, but all his children were born worthy (*kesherim*)[3] like himself, as it is stated in Scriptures. "And Jacob was a perfect man (איש תם), dwelling in houses of study (יושב אהלים)." (Gen. 25:27 as translated by the Rabbis.)[4]

[2] This passage appears, with minor variants, in Midrash Tannaim, Deut. 32:9, (ed. Hoffmann), p. 190; Yalquṭ Makhiri 135.4 (Buber), p. 254 and Yalquṭ Shim'oni, Jeremiah, Sec. 288. A simplified form of this passage is cited in Sifre Deut., Pisqa 343 (ed. Finkelstein), p. 397, lines 7 ff. Other relevant parallels are Midrash Tannaim, p. 73; Lev. Rabbah 36.5 (ed. Margulies), p. 850, lines 1 ff.; Pesiqta Rabbati 39 (ed. Friedmann), p. 165b; Midrash on Psalms (ed. Buber) 118.20, p. 487.

[3] On the perfection of all of Jacob's children see: Sifre Deut. 31 (ed. Finkelstein), p. 52, lines 5 ff.; Lev. Rabbah 36.5 and parallels cited by Margulies, *op. cit.*, p. 849, note 5. Cf. Gen. Rabbah 99:1, 68:11, Pesiqta Rabbati, *loc. cit.*, Midrash on Psalms, *loc. cit.*, Sifre Deut. 343 reads תמימים instead of כשרים. This reading is more consistent with the proof text איש תם.

[4] The Rabbi characteristically changes the meaning of the biblical verse from "And Jacob was a quiet man, dwelling in tents" (in contrast to Esau, the hunter) by adopting the alternative meaning of תם (perfect, whole, unblemished תמים; the opposite of בעל־מום, פסול) and by understanding אהלים to allude to houses of study, בתי מדרשות. The Rabbis interpret Gen. 25:27 in this sense throughout rabbinic literature, without exception. This verse serves as proof-text for a variety of perfections that the Rabbis attribute to Jacob. He was born circumcised (Avoth d'Rabbi Nathan 2, ed. Schechter, p. 12); he observed the entire Torah (Sifre Deut. 336, p. 386, line 4); he was perfect in good deeds (Tanḥuma, Mishpatim 19); he was upright, innocent of robbery, sin, or any unseemly conduct (Seder Eliahu Rabba [6] 7, ed. Friedmann, p. 32). Similarly יושב אהלים is taken to mean that Jacob studied Torah in the schools of Shem and Ever (Gen. Rabbah 63:9); he studied Torah and was diligent in the performance of commandments (Tanḥuma, Mishpatim 19); he

> From what point on does God claim (מכיר, make known) His portion?[5] From Jacob, as it is stated in Scriptures, "For the portion of the Lord is His people, Jacob the lot of His inheritance" (Deut. 32:9). And Scriptures also states, "For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself, Israel for His treasure" (Psalms 135:4).[6]

The first part of the Sifre passage, translated above, attempts to determine at which moment in history, at what point in time, God made the choice, "claimed His portion." The Rabbi insists, on the basis of a parable, that Israel became the elect when God chose Jacob. The choice could not have been initiated earlier, with Isaac, because of the unworthiness of Esau and the princes of Edom. Nor could He have chosen Abraham, because of Ishmael and the sons of Qeṭurah. Only Jacob, whose progeny were all worthy, unblemished, could be chosen by God.

The Rabbi clinches his argument, as usual, by citing a biblical proof-text. He understands Deut. 32:9 to say that "God claimed His people as His portion *when* Jacob became the lot of His inheritance." The author of our Sifre passage buttresses his interpretation with a parallel text, a frequent procedure in the literature. He sees an adverbial relationship between the *a* and *b* parts of Ps. 135:4 (a typical exegetic device) and he therefore translates: "When God

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established houses of study (Pesiqta Rabbati 5, p. 18b); no one studied Torah as diligently as Jacob (Tanḥuma Buber, Wayishlaḥ 9, p. 167). Cf. Tanḥuma, Shemoth #1 and the Targumim to this verse.

Note that we refer to all strata of the literature to form a *gestalt* of rabbinic interpretation of a biblical verse. This should be done with the greatest care. Evidence from the amoraic stratum is certainly not conclusive for the tannaitic period. It is often very helpful, however, to have an integrated view of the total rabbinic tradition and, if properly used, is an indispensable tool for text analysis.

Of relevance to our analysis is the further conclusion drawn from our text that though God chose Jacob, He did not bring him near. "Jacob drew himself near, as Scripture states 'and Jacob was an איש תם, etc.' (Gen. 25:27)." Jacob's study of Torah and his good deeds brought him near to God (Tanḥuma, Ẓaw 8; Tanḥuma Buber, Lev. p. 18; Num. Rabbah 3:2 and Yalquṭ Makhiri, Ps. 65, p. 318).

[5] On the use of מכיר in this sense, see, for example, Sifre Deut. 217, p. 250 and Qiddushin 78b. The term מכיר must be understood in the light of the proof-texts Deut. 32:9 and Ps. 135:4.

[6] Note that I follow the Finkelstein text (along with Midrash Tannaim) in citing the proof-text from Psalms after the verse from Deuteronomy. But I follow the Friedmann version (along with every other available text, except Finkelstein) in not dividing the Psalms text. For the justification of this reading, see below note 7 and note 18.

chose Jacob for Himself, Israel became His treasure." The Psalms text is somewhat more convincing than Deut. 32:9 for it proves conclusively that Israel is God's treasure. The anonymous עמו "His people" of Deuteronomy is definitely identified in Ps. 135:4 as Israel.[7] We shall soon see why the precise identity of "His people" is of crucial significance.

The intent of the passage is thus clear. God chose Israel when He chose Jacob — not earlier. Neither Abraham nor Isaac was free from blemish. They were only tenants. The only one claimed as a son (note well) was Jacob. He earned this choice because he was an איש תם, because he observed the commandments, because all of his progeny were worthy, and because he labored diligently over the Torah, "the law."

Why is the author of our Sifre passage so anxious to prove that the choice was initiated with Jacob?[8] What possible danger did the Rabbi see in the position that God had chosen Abraham? The author

[7] This is one of the reasons for our preference of the Finkelstein version where the Psalms verse is cited as the second proof-text. The additional text introduced by ואומר is often cited to forestall an objection based on some weakness in the first proof-text. In the Sifre comment on Deut. 14:2, 96 (p. 158, line 16) immediately after the Deut. verse ובך בחר ה' ונו' the author cites Ps. 135:4. Finkelstein perceptively notes . . . מביא כתוב מהחילים להוכחה שבבני יעקב ולא באומה או כתה אחרת דתורה מדברת. This is the function of the Psalms text in our passage. It is, as Finkelstein notes, a later addition in the Sifre to 14:2, but is part of the primary stratum in our passage. Furthermore, since the comment is on Deut. 32:9 we would naturally expect this verse to serve as the primary proof-text. In addition, the pentateuchal text would be cited first and especially so in this instance since the question ending with חלקו (מהיכן המקום מכיר את . . .) is most directly answered by עמו כי חלק ה'.

[8] The superiority of Jacob over Abraham is a recurring theme in midrashic literature. The most elaborate formulation occurs in Lev. Rabbah 36:4: ". . . heaven and earth were created in the merit of Jacob . . . Abraham was delivered from the fiery furnace only because of the merit of Jacob . . . See the parallels cited by Margulies, *op. cit.*, pp. 846 f. Neither Margulies, *loc. cit.*, nor L. Ginzberg in his discussion of this theme (*Legends of the Jews*, vol. 5, p. 274, note 35) cites any parallels from the tannaitic Midrashim. Ginzberg explains the two conflicting tendencies, i. e., the exaltation of Abraham, on the one hand, and of Jacob, on the other, as follows: "One may safely assert that the older Haggadah (universalistic) favors Abraham. The younger (nationalistic) Jacob." Our Sifre passage and the other tannaitic parallels do not support this distinction. At issue is not a theoretical universalism or nationalism. The rabbinic insistence on the superiority of Jacob is a response to a specific challenge, as will be demonstrated. Note that our concern is only with those passages which affirm the superiority of Jacob over the other patriarchs and not the statements which exalt Jacob by himself. These are of high antiquity and are differently motivated. Cf. Book of Jubilees 19:27 ff. in Charles, *Apocrypha, etc.*, vol. II, p. 42, and Ginzberg, *loc. cit.*

of our Sifre appears to be arguing on biblical ground against a point of view, perhaps also based on Scriptures, that the election took place with Abraham. Somehow, the choice of the first patriarch was used as an argument to undermine a doctrine close to the Rabbi's heart. How was this done and who was its author?

The Midrash neither explains the challenge nor does it identify the adversary. Only the Rabbi's argument is recorded. This silence is typical of most of the literature. The precise argument of the opponent and his identity must, in most instances, be inferred from the Rabbi's reply. (Perhaps this is the reason why many of the significant polemical passages are overlooked. Our Sifre, as we shall see, is a case in point.)

B

The fourth chapter of The Epistle of Paul to the Romans is a typical midrashic commentary on Gen. 15:6, "And he (Abraham) had faith in the Lord; and He counted it to him for righteousness." "Now," Paul argues, "if a man does a piece of work, his wages are not 'counted' as a favor; they are paid as debt. But if without any work to his credit he simply puts his faith in Him who acquits the guilty, then his faith is indeed 'counted as righteousness' " (4:4 f.). Since this righteousness was "reckoned" to Abraham before he was circumcised, Paul concludes that Abraham "is the father of all who have faith when uncircumcised, so that righteousness is 'counted' to them (4:11) . . . For it was not through law that Abraham, or his posterity, was given the promise . . . but through the righteousness that comes from faith (v. 13) . . . The promise was made on the ground of faith, in order that it might be a matter of sheer grace and that it might be valid for all Abraham's posterity, not only for those who hold the law but for those also who have the faith of Abraham. For he is the father of us all, as Scripture says: 'I have appointed you to be father of many nations' " (4:16 f.).[9]

In the third chapter of Galatians, a similar argument is used to show that "if you thus belong to Christ, you are the 'issue' of Abraham, and so heirs by promise" (3:29). Paul builds his case on the same verse in Gen. (15:6), ". . . 'he put his faith in God . . .' You may take it, then," Paul reasons, "that it is the men of faith who are Abraham's sons. And Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles through faith, declared the Gospel to Abraham beforehand: 'In you

[9] New Testament citations are, with a few minor changes, from *The New English Bible*, Oxford and Cambridge University Press (1961).

all nations shall find blessing.' Thus it is the men of faith who share the blessing with faithful Abraham. On the other hand, those who rely on obedience to the law are under a curse . . .(3:6 ff.) . . . Christ brought us freedom from the curse of the law by becoming for our sake an accursed thing; . . . And the purpose of it all was that the blessing of Abraham should in Jesus Christ be extended to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promised spirit through faith" (3:14 f.).[10]

We are not concerned with defining the precise attitude of Paul toward "the law" and toward those who held on to it, a problem raised by the above-cited passages. Nor need we concern ourselves with the reaction toward Paul's doctrine within the Christian group as reflected in the second chapter of the Epistle of James, "Was it not by his action, in offering his son Isaac upon the altar, that our father Abraham was justified? . . . Here was fulfillment of the words of Scripture: 'Abraham put his faith in God, and that faith was counted to him as righteousness'; . . . You see then that a man is justified by deeds and not by faith in itself" (2:21 ff.). Regardless of the interpretation of Paul's attitude toward the legal prescriptions and toward those who lived by the "law," the passages from Galatians and Romans clearly demonstrate that the election of Abraham was used as a pivotal argument for the elect status of the Christians. They were the true heirs of Abraham; the genuine chosen people — a status achieved by faith in Jesus Christ.

But Paul constructs another midrashic argument that is of relevance to our Sifre passage. In the ninth chapter of Romans, Paul reasons: "For not all descendants of Israel are truly Israel, nor, because they are Abraham's offsprings are they all his true children; but, in the words of Scripture, 'through the line of Isaac shall your seed be traced.' That is to say, it is not those born in the course of nature (the children of the flesh) who are children of God; it is the children born through God's promise who are reckoned as Abraham's descendants (9:7 ff.) . . . But that is not all, for Rebekah's children had one and the same father, our ancestor Isaac; and yet in order that God's selective purpose might stand, based not upon man's deeds, but upon the call of God, she was told, even before

[10] For a rabbinic comment on this verse (Gen. 15:6), see: Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el, Beshalah 6, (ed. Horovitz), pp. 114 f. Note especially the comment of R. Nehemiah (lines 17 f.). The subtlety of the exegesis lies in the rabbinic usage of צדקה which comes to mean more than "righteousness." It indicates an attitude or act performed in addition to the literal requirements of the law, certainly not as a substitute for them — לפנים משורת הדין.

they were born, when they had as yet done nothing, good or ill, 'The elder shall be servant to the younger' . . ." (9:10 ff.).[11]

We see here a further development of the argument for the elect status of the Christians. Not only was Abraham chosen for his faith and thus became the father of all who seek salvation by faith, but Isaac and Jacob, as well, were chosen because they were "children of the promise" not because they were the natural issue of their fathers, nor because of any meritorious deeds that they performed. The choice "depends not upon man's will or exertion but upon God's mercy." Paul is implying that if it were a matter of biologic descent then Ishmael and Esau would also qualify, perhaps even more so since they were the elder sons. The fact that the line of descent is traced through Isaac and Jacob is clear evidence that relationship of the flesh is not the determining factor in being of the elect. Furthermore, since Rebekah was told even before Esau and Jacob were born that "the elder shall serve the younger," the choice of Jacob could not have been due to any deed or special merit of Jacob.

The various facets of Paul's argument are combined and carried a step further in the Epistle of Barnabas. In the thirteenth chapter Barnabas raises the question "whether our people or the former is the heir, and whether the covenant is intended for us or for them" (13:1). He bases his answer on the scriptural account of God's response to Rebekah, ". . . and the older shall serve the younger." "You should try to understand," Barnabas explains, "who Isaac is and who Rebekah and by what means He has pointed out that our people will be greater than the other" (13:3). An even clearer indication that the Christians and not the Jews are the true heirs of God's choice, Barnabas continues, is Jacob's insistence on placing his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph, and blessing him. In reply to Joseph's protest that Menassah is the elder, Barnabas understands Jacob to say, "I know, my child — I know; but the older must be subject to the younger . . ." (13:5). Barnabas suggests through these two examples that the preference was given in each case to the younger to indicate God's choice of the Christians, the younger people. Barnabas

[11] In the light of this passage, a deeper meaning of the rabbinic interpretation of Gen. 25:23 emerges. First, the Rabbis insist that Esau had a pre-natal tendency toward idolatry while Jacob was drawn to the synagogue even before birth. Secondly, the Rabbis interpret רב יעבד צעיר as a conditional promise: אם זכה יעבד ואם לאו יעבד (יעביד ייעבד). For variants and meaning of this phrase see the discussion in Theodor-Albeck, Gen. Rabbah, vol. II, p. 686, note 3. See: Gen. Rabbah 63.6 7, 10; 67.7 and often, throughout the literature, cf. the rabbinic interpretation of Gen. 25:27, note 4, above

concludes his argument with God's charge to Abraham "when he, the only believer, was accounted justified: 'Behold Abraham. I have appointed you the father of the nations which, though not circumcised, believe in God' " (13:7).[12]

The fully developed Christian argument expounded by Barnabas may be summarized as follows: a) Abraham was chosen because of his faith, before he was circumcised, thus becoming the father of all the uncircumcised who have faith. b) The choice of Isaac and Jacob was not due to their natural descent (of the flesh). c) Nor was the election of Isaac and Jacob due to meritorious deeds on their part. Does not Scripture establish the superiority of Jacob over Esau before they are born? d) Isaac and Jacob were chosen as an act of grace on the part of God. So too, the choice of the younger son is symbolic of the election of the Christians; "the elder shall serve the younger."

C

If we now return to our Sifre passage we will see a point by point refutation of the four-step Christian argument as expounded by Paul and as summarized and supplemented by Barnabas. Consider the parable of the king and its application to the patriarchs. a) Though God (the king) did give his field (elect status) to Abraham, He did so only as an owner gives his property to a tenant, i.e., for a limited period; not as an act of grace but in consideration of an agreed share in the produce. Abraham was chosen conditionally and could only retain his status as long as he fulfilled the conditions. His unworthy children Ishmael and the sons of Qeṭurah, though heir to the tenancy as sons of Abraham, caused the field to be taken from them because of their evil character and to be given to Abraham's younger son Isaac. b) Isaac was chosen also as a tenant, conditionally, as a son of Abraham. He had the merit of being the son of the previous tenant, the friend of the king.[13] Isaac was given preference over his older brother not as a matter of grace, nor because he was the younger, but because Ishmael was unworthy, *pesoleth*. c) Finally the king

[12] Note that Barnabas is not translating the verse in Genesis. He constructs a midrashic interpretation of Gen. 17:4 in accordance with Rom. 4:1 f. and Galatians 3:6 ff. Note also that Isaac (on the basis of Barnabas 7:3) symbolizes Jesus. Citations are from the translation of J. A. Kleist, *Ancient Christian Writers*, vol. VI (London, 1957).

[13] On the various kinds of tenancies, including those that were inherited, see: G. Allon, תולדות היהודים בארץ ישראל בתקופת המשנה (Tel Aviv, 1952), pp. 95 f.

had a son of his own, Jacob, and the field was given to him. Jacob was given possession of the field as a son, permanently for himself and his progeny, not as a tenant. God claimed him as a son because he was a perfect man, *ish tam*; he was worthy for he spent his time in houses of study applying himself to the Torah, "the law." He was a *yoshev 'ohalim*.[14] All of Jacob's children were worthy, not only a remnant, or the line of Judah, or Ephraim, but all his issue were unblemished and qualified. d) Jacob was chosen over his elder brother because Esau was unworthy while Jacob had every merit. God preferred Jacob not as an indication of His choosing Christianity, the younger of His sons, but because Esau was unworthy.

Note particularly the difference between the status of Jacob and that of Abraham and Isaac. While the first two patriarchs were but tenants, Jacob claimed "the field" as a son. God's choice of Jacob and his offspring is permanent, irrevocable. This distinction foreshadows the second part of the argument in our Sifre passage, to be analyzed below. Barnabas and Hebrews, before him, draw a similar distinction between Moses who was "faithful as a Servitor" and Jesus, who as "Christ is faithful as a Son."[15] The author of our Sifre appears to be aware of it and subtly responds.[16]

The Rabbi concludes his case by citing the proof-text from Deut.

[14] See notes 4 and 11, above.

[15] Barnabas distinguishes between the way Moses received the covenant and the manner in which it was given to the Christians: "Moses received it as a servant but the Lord in person gave it to us .... He appeared in the flesh ... that we may receive the covenant through its destined heir, the Lord Jesus; ... (14:4 ff.)" The same distinction occurs in Hebrews: "Moses, then, was faithful as a servitor (*θεράπων*) in God's whole household ... (cf. Num. 12:7) but Christ is faithful as a son, set over his household" (Heb. 3:5 f.). Note the similarity between this distinction and the roles that the Rabbis ascribe to Abraham and Isaac on the one hand, and to Jacob, on the other. The rabbinic usage of אריס is often very similar to the Greek "therapon." See, for example, Lev. Rabbah 1, where Adam is called the אריס of God referring to his being placed in the Garden of Eden לעבדה ולשמרה.

[16] We do not suggest that the author of our Sifre passage personally confronted the author of the Epistle of Barnabas. Our purpose is to demonstrate that our Sifre passage is a response to a series of Christian arguments current in the second century. By identifying the challenge and giving it precise formulation, many of the subtle nuances in the midrash itself emerge. Justin Martyr, among others, used similar arguments, often more elaborately than Barnabas. However, the argument for the elect status of the Christians as formulated by Barnabas corresponds both in form and content to the response in our Sifre passage, as will be demonstrated. On the existence of compendia of arguments for possible controversies with Jews, see: James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and Synagogue*, p. 49 and literature cited in note 6. On Barnabas' use of testimonial literature (*Testimonienlehre*), see H. Windisch, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 1920.

32:9, which he translates, "God claimed His people as His portion when Jacob became the lot of His inheritance." Should anyone claim that "His people" of the Deuteronomy verse refers to the Christians, i. e., that they are the true "seed" of Jacob, the author of our passage cites a second proof-text, Ps. 135:4, where God's treasure is definitely identified as Israel.[17]

Though the discussion in our Sifre passage centers about the point in time when the initial choice took place, this is not the basic issue. Our Rabbi's interest is not a remote, theoretic point nor is it a pedantic, exegetic nicety. At stake is the status of the Jews, and the Christians' right to claim election. The underlying question throughout the discussion is the Jewish claim to be the chosen people. The Christian challenge of this claim, particularly those arguments based on Scriptures, must be refuted. This is the key to our passage in the Sifre.

II

It would appear that the author of our passage had replied to every point of the Christian challenge as formulated by Barnabas. Our passage, however, continues with a number of additional biblical texts. What other arguments would the Rabbi's adversary muster to evoke a further response, based on another series of proof-texts? The Sifre is somewhat more articulate at this point but the difficult midrashic idiom obscures the Christian counterargument to which the Rabbi is responding.

A

Immediately following the proof-text from Psalms, the Midrash continues:[18] ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי, ואין אנו יודעים אם הקדוש ברוך הוא בחר לו ישראל לסגולתו ואם ישראל בחרו בהקדוש ברוך הוא. Though the precise

[17] The Christians, of course, claimed to be Israel, as well. To Trypho's shocked exclamation, "What, then? Are you Israel?" Justin replies, "Christ is the Israel and the Jacob, even so we, who have been quarried out from the bowels of Christ, are the true Israelitic race . . ." (Dialogue with Trypho, 123 and 135). The Rabbi was well aware of this claim. However, he proceeds systematically. At this point, he is interested in "proving" only that the choice took place with Jacob, not Abraham, and that the people who inherited the elect status was Israel. He then will consider the identity of the true Israel.

[18] Note that we follow the Friedmann text, as well as every other available version (except Finkelstein), at this point. We cite the full Psalm text, without interruption (see note 6, above) and omit line 11b from ועדין to line 13a ועדין in the Finkelstein text. We read . . . ועדין הדבר תלי only once instead of twice. Our interpretation

meaning of ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי which appears but four times in the entire literature, is somewhat obscure, the general sense of the phrase is, "The matter is still in doubt."[19] The continuation of our passage is therefore to be translated:

> "But the matter is still in doubt and we do not know whether the Holy One, blessed be He, chose Israel for Himself as His treasure, or whether Israel chose the Holy One, blessed be He."

This is the substance of the new challenge addressed to the Rabbi. He then replies with a proof-text from Deut. 14:2, ". . . and the Lord your God has chosen you to be His own treasure (out of all peoples that are upon the face of the earth)."[20]

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of the passage follows from either reading; however, the version we adopted appears to be the preferred one. The question . . . ועדין after the first half of Ps. 135:4 is most likely a later gloss by an editor who misinterpreted the passage. The burden of the second proof-text (Ps. 135:4) is to identify עמו as Israel, and this is done only at the end of the verse. Midrash Tannaim 14:2 (p. 73) addresses the question . . . ועדין to the *a* as well as *b* parts of the Psalms text. However, in that case, there is an attempt to identify the first half of Ps. 135:4 with the corresponding *a* part of Deut. 14:2 and the last part of the Psalm text with the *b* part of Deut. 14:2. Therefore the question addressed to both halves of the text is logical. It may well be that some editor was misled into explaining our Sifre passage in like manner. However, the purpose for citing the Psalms text in our Sifre is quite different. In any case, the passage in Midrash Tannaim is a late composite, put together by the author of Midrash Haggadol, and is not relevant for our Sifre passage. For a detailed analysis of Midrash Tannaim to Deut. 14:2, see note 26 and Appendix, below.

[19] Sifre Deut. 32:43, 333, p. 383; Sifre Num. 91 (ed. Horovitz), p. 91 (see, however, Ch. Albeck, *Untersuchungen über die halakischen Midraschim*, p. 76. He doubts the authenticity of this formula in Sifre Num.); Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai 12:14 (Epstein-Melamed) p. 16; and, of course, our Sifre passage. It is doubtful whether Sifre Deut. 33:1, 342, p. 393 is to be considered another instance of the same formula. Both the text and the formal structure of the argument would indicate otherwise. The exegetic formulae עדיין הדבר צריך (Sifra, Mezor'a, Pereq II.10 and 'Emor, Pereq XII.8), עדיין אני אומר (Sifre Numbers 116 and 148, ed. Horovitz, pp. 131 and 148, respectively) and (תלוי) עדיין הדבר חלוק (Sifre Zuṭa VII.84, ed. Horovitz, p. 253) introduce arguments that are somewhat different in structure.

David Hoffmann (Mekhilta, etc., p. 14, note 9) translates this phrase עדיין הדבר תלוי במה שאין ראוי להלות שאף שכ אין הענין מפורש. W. Bacher (*Die Exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* (Leipzig, 1899), vol. 1, p. 198) explains: "Der Sinn dieser Redensart (ועדיין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי) mit welcher eine Sache als unbestimmt, zweifelhaft bezeichnet wird, ist nicht genau erkennbar." Albeck, *loc. cit.*, follows Horowitz: "Die Sache hängt an etwas, das selbst nicht hängen kann . . . Diese Redewendung dient dazu, um zu erklären, dass ein Bibelvers nicht durch einen anderen, der selbst erklärungsbedürftig ist, näher bestimmt werden kann."

[20] This verse appears twice in Deuteronomy in almost identical form and there is some doubt as to which one is used as the proof-text. The reading יבר corresponds to

Though this translation appears, at first glance, quite reasonable, a closer look reveals a number of logical and textual difficulties. This type of argument appears a number of times in tannaitic literature. In the Sifre to Numbers and Deuteronomy and in the Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai, the syllogism is introduced by the aramaized formula ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי. In the Mekhilta d'Rabbi Yishmael, Sifra, Mishnah and Tosefta, an equivalent Hebrew phrase, ועדין הדבר שקול introduces the argument.[21] Regardless of the introductory formula, however, the argument invariably follows a definite form. The structure of the syllogism is as follows:

a) A statement or question.
b) A proof-text. (The proof-text supports the statement or resolves the question.)
c) The formula ועדין הדבר שקול, ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי ("The matter is still in doubt.")
d) A definition of the matter still in doubt. (ואין אנו יודעים אם . . . ואם . . . This refers without exception to the original statement or question and is based on an ambiguity in the proof-text.)
e) Final proof-text. (This proof definitely decides in favor of the alternative suggested by the original statement.)

Consider two illustrations of this type of argument, one from the Sifre and one from the Mishnah.

1. Sifre Deut. 32:43, Pisqa 343, p. 383.
   a) רבי מאיר אומר, כל היושב בארץ ישראל, ארץ ישראל מכפרת. (statement)
   b) שנאמר, והעם היושב בה נשוא עון (ישעיה ל"ג:כ"ד)" (Proof text)
   c) עדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי. (Formula)

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the masoretic version in Deut. 14:2 but the word אלהיך is missing. While Deut. 7:6 does read אלהיך but the verse begins with בך not ובך. Finkelstein cites 14:2 but Friedmann gives the reference as 7:6. Note, however, that LXX, as well as the Targumim and a number of other versions along with the Sifre itself (Sifre Deut. 97, p. 158) read אלהיך in Deut. 14:2. Furthermore, the logic of the argument gives preference to 14:2 as will be demonstrated below. Cf. R. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 286.

[21] Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai in commenting on Exod. 14:2 uses the phrase תלי בדלא תלי while the Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el giving the identical comment on the same verse introduces the argument with the formula ועדין הדבר שקול. Cf. Mekhilta Rabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai (Epstein-Melamed), p. 16, and Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el (Horovitz), p. 25. For הדבר שקול see, for example: Mishnah Soṭah 5:5; Sifra (Weiss), p. 14a; Tosefta Menaḥoth 6:19.

d) אין אנו יודעים אם פורקים עוונותיהם עליה ואם נושאים עוונותיהם עליה. (Definition of הדבר)[22]

e) כשהוא אומר, „וכפר אדמתו עמו" (דברים ל"ב:מ"ג) הוי פורקים עוונותיהם עליה ואין נושאים עוונותיהם עליה. (Final proof-text)

2. Mishnah Soṭah 5:5.

a) לא עבד איוב את הקדוש ברוך הוא אלא מאהבה (Statement)

b) שנאמר, „הן יקטלני לו איחל" (איוב י"ג:ט"ו) (Proof-text)[23]

c) ועדין הדבר שקול (Formula)

d) לו אני מצפה או איני מצפה (Definition of הדבר)[24]

e) ת"ל „עד שאנוע לא אסיר תומתי ממני" (איוב כ"ז:ה'), מלמד שמאהבה עשה (Final proof-text)

At times some of the steps in the argument are not explicitly stated; they are assumed. But whether they are implicit or expressed the formal structure follows a set and universally consistent pattern. Note that "the matter still in doubt" is, without exception, the question dealt with in the first part of the passage. The initial proof-text is not conclusive; both alternatives remain live options (Job could have been motivated by either love or fear; the Land of Israel either atones for the sins of its inhabitants or it may cause them to suffer their sins). The final proof-text decides in favor of the alternative stated in the initial premise (the land of Israel atones; Job served God out of love).

If we now subject our Sifre passage to a similar analysis, the full range of problems becomes apparent.

a) The election of Israel began with God's choosing of Jacob - not Abraham. (Statement)

b) Deut. 32:9 and Ps. 135:4 (Proof-text)

c) ועדין הדבר תלי ברלא תלי (Formula)

d) We do not know whether God chose Israel or Israel chose God. (Definition of הדבר)

e) Proof-text from Deut. 14:2; God chose Israel. (Final proof-text)

But at this point our passage continues:

f) How do we know that Jacob also chose God? (Second Alternative)

[22] The ambiguity lies in the word נשא. Is it a passive participle as the *qere* indicates or is it active נשא?

[23] The *kethiv* is לא. LXX, Targum, Aquilla, Vulgate, Syriac read לו.

[24] Soṭah 31a quotes Isa. 63:9 to show that though לא is written, it means לו, which indicates that לא may be either a negative or it may mean לו.

g) Scripture states: "Not like these is the portion of Jacob" (Jeremiah 10:16). (Proof for "f")

Now the basic premise, as we have demonstrated is that God's choice began with Jacob, not Abraham. Two texts prove it. We would therefore expect, on formal grounds, a question (step d.) addressed to the original assumption showing that the proof-texts are not conclusive and that either alternative (God chose either Jacob or Abraham) is possible. Instead, we are confronted with a *non sequitur*. The question is on a completely new subject — one not previously mentioned: Did God choose Israel or did Israel choose God.

Furthermore, we have noted that the final proof-text (e) decides in favor of one of the alternatives. But our Rabbi offers a proof-text for both of the possibilities. He proves that God chose Israel (Deut. 14:2) and also that Jacob chose God (Jer. 10:16).

But let us, for the moment, disregard the difficulty posed by the affirmation of both alternatives and let us grant the remote possibility that our passage is, in the formal structure of this type of syllogism, the single exception. We will assume that the texts cited to prove the original contention (Deut. 32:9 and Ps. 135:4) that God chose Jacob, suggested a new difficulty to our author, one not considered heretofore, and he proceeded to explore it. The discussion that follows would, therefore, be independent of the first part of the passage. Well, let us see if the proof-texts suggest the new difficulty.

Deut. 32:9, the point of departure for the Sifre comment, clearly states that "God's portion is His people . . ." God made the choice. No other meaning is possible. The Rabbis, in fact, continually cite this verse to prove that God chose Israel. A typical comment is: "May the Name of the King of kings, the Holy One, praised be He, be blessed, for He chose Israel from among the seventy nations, as it is stated in Scriptures 'For the portion of the Lord is His people . . .' "[25] The question whether God chose Israel or whether Israel did the choosing would hardly be suggested by this proof-text.

Consider, however, the second text cited to prove that God chose Jacob and not Abraham, Ps. 135:4. The first part of the verse כי יעקב בחר לו יה is ambiguous. "Jacob" could conceivably be the subject. The verse would then be translated, "For Jacob chose God for himself" and would legitimately raise the question: Who did the choosing? Similarly, the second part of the Psalm text ישראל לסגולתו could, with not unreasonable midrashic license, be rendered: "Israel

[25] Tanḥuma, Noaḥ 3. Cf. Tanḥuma Wayeshev 1, Balaq 12; Num. Rabbah 20:19; Midrash Ps. 2:14, 5:1, 28:1.

(chose God) as its treasure." It is possible, therefore, that the citation of the Psalm text gave rise to the question as to who chose, Israel or God.

When the total midrashic literature is considered, however, even this remote possibility would have to be rejected. Ps. 135:4 is one of the most frequently cited verses in rabbinic literature used to prove that God chose Israel.[26] The Sifre itself in commenting on the verse ". . . And the Lord, your God has chosen you . . ." (Deut. 14:2, Pisqa 97, p. 158), finds no better text to strengthen and make even more explicit God's choice of Israel, than our Psalm text.[27] In order to justify the interpretation that the new question confronting the Rabbi is, "Did God choose or did Israel choose," we would have to assume that this section of our passage deals with a new subject and that it is independent of the first part of the Midrash. We would have to assert, in addition, that contrary to the overwhelming rabbinic tradition, our author finds an ambiguity in the Psalm text (135:4). We would then still be faced with the unique phenomenon that both alternatives are affirmed (God chooses and Israel chooses), in violation of the form of every other similar argument.

Moreover, if the question "who did the choosing" refers to the patriarch Jacob, i.e., that the specific matter discussed in the first part of the passage is not yet decided since the proof-text does not prove conclusively that God chose Jacob, then the answer from Deut.

[26] Gen. Rabbah 76:1; Lev. Rabbah 27:5; Num. Rabbah 3:2, 14:10; Tanḥuma Ẓaw 8, Emor 9; Tanḥuma (Buber) Lev. p. 18 and p. 91; Midrash Ps. 136:1. The use of this verse in Midrash Ps. 119:21 is somewhat ambiguous. The only midrashic passage where this Psalm verse is interpreted to mean either that God chose Jacob or Jacob chose God is Midrash Tannaim 14:2, p. 73. This passage presents a number of textual and structural problems and is, in its present form, a late composite. There is a definite relationship between this comment in Midrash Tannaim and our Sifre passage. The same three texts are used (Deut. 14:2, Ps. 135:4 and Jer. 10:16) and the language is quite similar. However, the author of the Midrash Haggadol (David Hoffmann compiled the Midrash Tannaim by putting together a number of excerpts from the Midrash Haggadol — excerpts which Hoffmann judged to be tannaitic comments on Deuteronomy) used our Sifre passage (Deut. 32:9) as a basis for constructing the commentary to Deut. 14:2. It is a composition by the Yemenite author of the post-Maimonidian period and is irrelevant to the understanding of our Sifre passage. See Appendix below for an analysis of the Midrash Tannaim passage. In any case, the ambiguity of Ps. 135:4 is not the problem in our Sifre, as will be shown. See H. J. Schoeps' analysis of Kurt Emmerich's thesis that God did not elect Israel but Israel chose God as its Volkskönig in *Aus Frühchristlicher Zeit* (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 184 ff.

[27] Though Finkelstein correctly considers the citation of Ps. 135:4 as a later gloss (Sifre Deut. p. 158, note 15), it is nevertheless an indication of the rabbinic use of this text.

14:2 is irrelevant. The context of Deut. 14:2 leaves no possible doubt that the address is to the children of Israel in the desert and not to the patriarch.

Consider further, if it is the Psalm text that casts doubt on who did the choosing, then the Rabbi needs but return to his original proof-text, Deut. 32:9, which conclusively clarifies the issue. He does not do this, however. He goes on to cite a new text, Deut. 14:2. This would indicate that the question facing him cannot be answered by appealing to his original verse. To prove that God did the choosing, no new text is necessary. The problem facing our Rabbi cannot be answered by Deut. 32:9. The question, therefore, must be something other than "who did the choosing."

Every consideration, formal structure, context, logic, demands that we reject the obvious and usually given translation suggested above. Unless, of course, we are ready to state that our passage is a senseless composite or hopelessly corrupt, an alternative to be used only as a last resort. The Sifre text is subtle and is easily misinterpreted. The new question confronting the Rabbi, we would suggest, is not independent of the previous discussion; it is a continuation of it. Nor is the question "still in doubt," whether God chose or Israel chose. The total passage, if properly understood, forms a coherent unit and is a significant response to the Christian challenge concerning the election of Israel. To determine the meaning of the passage, let us again define the challenge, closely examine the Rabbi's answer and then return to the formulation of the question.

B

After the standard formula ועדין הדבר תלי בדלא תלי and the definition of the matter "still in doubt," the author of our passage responds by citing the verse Deut. 14:2 ". . . and the Lord your God chose you . . ." What may have troubled the Rabbi at this point in his exegesis? He has proved that God chose Jacob and his descendants. What question drives him on to appeal to a new proof-text?

Suppose that some adversary would have challenged the Rabbi as follows: "The biblical record is authoritative for me too. I grant that God chose Jacob and his seed (though I may differ about the role of Abraham). Accordingly Moses offered the covenant to the Jews. But they proved unworthy of the favor, on account of their sins. Did they not turn to idolatry while Moses was yet on the mountain? Moses received the tablets and intended to give them

to the people. But the Lord said, 'Arise, get down quickly . . . for your people . . . have made a molten image' (Deut. 9:12). And Moses took the two tablets and cast them out of his hands and broke them before their eyes. The covenant received by Moses was not given to Israel. They rejected it with their idolatry even before it reached them. Therefore God suspended the covenant for the sake of us Christians and revealed it through Jesus, in order that we may be loosed from darkness and, as a holy people, receive the heritage promised to Jacob."[28]

The new challenge would follow logically from the discussion in the first part of our Sifre. God's original choice is not disputed. The Christian also traces his genealogy to the patriarchs who were admittedly chosen by God, though the grounds for the Christian's claim are spiritual. It is, however, Israel's rejection of that choice at Sinai that is now emphasized. Israel rejected its special status at Sinai and, therefore, God withdrew His favor.[29]

The Christian would be led to this argument by the Rabbi's own assumptions. If Jacob was chosen because of his merit and Esau was rejected because of his unworthiness, then the offspring of Jacob too, would retain their elect status only as long as they merited it. The golden calf proved them unworthy. Israel therefore lost its chosenness and it may now be acquired only through faith in Jesus.[30]

Would anyone have raised such a question? The argument summarized above is the substance of the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas. It is the continuation of his argument for the elect status of the Christians and immediately follows Barnabas' discussion of the role of Abraham as "the father of many nations" which we analyzed above (Section I. B.).

But Barnabas carries his argument yet a step farther. If Israel rejected the covenant even before it was given to them, then all

[28] Cf. M. Simon, *Verus Israel* (Paris, 1948), p. 180, and H. Lutzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church* (New York, 1937), II.297.

[29] Note in this connection Num Rabbah 3.2: לא כל הקרוב כרוב ולא כל הרחוק הרוק. יש נבחר ונדחה ונתקרב. . . . יש נבחר ונדחה ונתקרב. Cf. Yalqut Makhiri 65:9 and the other parallel passages.

[30] Note that the Rabbi tried to forewarn against this argument by calling Jacob a son (note 14, above). However, this is the very point that is in question and represents the central problem in the Jewish doctrine of election. How is God's irrevocable choice of Israel to be reconciled with His משפט, which implies a reciprocal responsiblity. Much of the rabbinic discussion of this subject stems from the tension implicit in God's choosing Israel in the face of Israel's continous rebellion. If Jacob was chosen because he was an איש תם, because of his merit, then the choice, as the Christian argues, cannot be irrevocable. Cf. note 4, last paragraph, above.

the laws concerning the Sabbath, diet, circumcision — "the law" as the Jews understood and practiced it — are not included in the true covenant. Because of their stubbornness, the Jews could not grasp the purely spiritual meaning of God's commandments. The significance of the biblical laws, Barnabas argues, "are plain to us (Christians) but were obscure to them (the Jews) because they did not understand the meaning of the Lord's voice." Moses did not speak of circumcision of the flesh (9:4). The dietary laws (10:9) and the Sabbath (15:1 ff.) were intended only in a spiritual sense. "They (the Jews) were deluded by an evil angel" (9:5). The judgement that Barnabas "closely approaches Marcion" in his view of the "ceremonies and rites of the Old Testament" is an adequate summary of his position.[31]

A parallel argument against the legal prescriptions was constructed by Justin Martyr. "They (the laws) were enjoined you," Justin tells Trypho in his Dialogue, "on account of your transgressions and the hardness of your hearts (chap. 18)." Adam, Abel, Enoch, Lot, Melchizedek, Justin continues, "though they kept no Sabbaths, were pleasing to God; and after them Abraham with all his descendants until Moses, under whom your nation appeared unrighteous and ungrateful to God, making a calf in the wilderness: wherefore God, accommodating himself to that nation, enjoined them also to offer sacrifices, as if to His name, in order that you might not serve idols . . . And you were commanded to abstain from certain kinds of foods . . . (chap. 20) . . . on account of your unrighteousness and that of your fathers" (chap. 21). The laws given to the Jews, Justin argues, were not a sign of God's favor, but of His rejection; they were promulgated as punishment. The Christians are the true Israel (chaps. 122 and 135).

The question facing the Rabbi of our Sifre, according to our theoretical construction, would be not whether God or Israel did the choosing. The troubling challenge would rather be whether the people of Israel chose God at Sinai (in a specific historic situation) and whether, subsequently, God still chose them. The first part of the discussion proved that God chose Jacob and his descendants. The "matter still in doubt" then, would be the underlying question of

[31] A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (London, 1935), p. 19. He carefully explains: "Although he is no Marcionite in his doctrine of God, he approaches Marcion in his view of these (ceremonies and rites)." Marcel Simon, *loc. cit.*, explains Moses' shattering of the tablets: ". . . son geste signifie clairement que la vertu de la Loi réside non pas dans sa lettre, mains dans son esprit." Cf. H. J. Schoeps, *Aus Frühchristlicher Zeit* (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 154 ff., and A. Marmorstein, "Judaism and Christianity, etc." in *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1935), Vol. X, pp. 234 ff. See especially, G. Allon, "ההלכה שבאגרת ברנבא," *Tarbiz* XI (1939), pp. 23–38.

the entire passage, the status of Israel after the golden calf, and its necessary corollary, the status of Israel vis-à-vis the Christians, after Jesus. Neither one of the previous proof-texts, neither Deut. 32:9, nor Ps. 135:4, answers this question.[32] The Rabbi must therefore find a new proof-text.

Consider how naturally such a question would arise in a discussion of Deut. 32, the chapter commented upon by our Sifre. The entire chapter is an elaborate proof-text for the Christian argument and was often used as such.[33] God chose Jacob. He lovingly cared for His people, Jacob's offspring. But they rejected Him and therefore God hid His face (suspended the covenant?). He spurned Israel (?).[34] The Rabbi's proof for the choice of Jacob and his children is of little relevance in the face of this new challenge. The issue is the status of Israel after Sinai, after the golden calf.

Before returning to our Sifre text let us carry our theoretical construction a step farther and consider how the Rabbi would respond to such a challenge. What biblical evidence would he cite to refute the Christian argument? The author of our passage would have to find an unambiguous text which states that God chose Israel, the Israel after Sinai and after the golden calf. The proof-text would be ideal if, in addition, it would speak of the choice through commandments, i. e., that the legal prescriptions given to Israel by Moses after the incident of the golden calf and therefore understood by Israel in a literal sense, were a sign of God's favor. The ideal text would state that the laws were given to Israel because they are a holy people and God's chosen treasure.

Deut. 14:2, the proof-text cited by the Rabbi of our Sifre passage, meets every one of the requirements. It is the perfect text. The fourteenth chapter of Deuteronomy deals primarily with the dietary laws. It begins with the statement: "You are children of the Lord your God: you shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead" (14:1). Now follows our text: "For you are a holy

[32] Both proof-texts are cited in the first part of our Sifre to show that the choice took place with the patriarch Jacob and his children. They are taken to be historic allusions of the time when God initially elected Israel. The biblical context of both verses supports this interpretation. These texts are therefore inconclusive with reference to the status of Israel after Sinai.

[33] See, for example, Dialogue with Trypho, chapters 20, 119, and 123.

[34] Note the comment of Rabbi Meir on Deut. 32:5 "עשה לי לא בניו מומם . . . אף על פי שהם פלאים פיוסים קרויים בנים . . . (Sifre Deut. 308, p. 346). Or a similar exegesis on Deut. 32:19 "וירא ה׳ וינאץ מכעס בניו ובנותיו" וילא דברים כל וחומר ומה בזמן שמכעיסים כרויים בנים אלו לא ריו מכעיסים על אחת כמה וכמה. (Sifre Deut. 320, p. 366), cf. Midrash Tannaim 14:1, p. 71.

people unto your God *and the Lord your God has chosen you to be His own treasure . . .*" (14:2). Moses reassures his people toward the end of his career, long after Sinai, that they are the elect. There can be no doubt about the identity of those whom he is addressing. And immediately after Moses tells Israel that they are still God's elect, he continues with a list of the forbidden foods (14:3 f.). This unambiguous statement affirming Israel's status appears between two sets of legal prescriptions. They are to refrain from certain idolatrous mourning customs (14:1) *because* they are a chosen people. Their status as God's treasure is the reason for the laws of diet which immediately follow.[35]

C

If in the light of our discussion we now examine our Sifre text, a meaning quite different from the one originally proposed and generally assumed will become apparent. Let us recall that the basic problem of our passage is the status of Israel as the chosen people. The first challenge was that the choice took place with Abraham, "the father of many nations," before circumcision. The Rabbi countered this argument by proving that God chose Jacob not Abraham. He cited two texts in support of his position. He thus affirmed the Jewish position that only Israel may rightfully claim to be God's elect. Now follows the formula: "But the matter is still in doubt." And this, in turn, is followed by a definition of the "matter." Now what can the "matter" still in doubt possibly be? It cannot be whether God chose Abraham or Jacob. *That question has been resolved.* Nor is the answer from Deut. 14:2 addressed to this question. The doubt must therefore concern the basic problem of the passage, namely, *whether God chose the Jews or not.* In the light of the challenge by Barnabas, analyzed above, the status of the Jews following the golden calf incident would indeed be open to question. The problem, at this point in the syllogism, would therefore be: Are the Jews after Sinai still the elect or not? The proof-texts cited so far provide no answer. The structure of this type of argument would lead us to expect the formulation: "And we do

[35] Note the Sifre comment to 14:2 (Pisqa 97, p. 158). The passage is somewhat obscure. However, both Finkelstein and Friedmann consider it an anti-Christian polemic. The formulation in Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai (Yithro 19:6, ed. Melamed, p. 139) is clearer: הא ". . . כי עם קדוש אתה לה' אלהיך (דברים י"ד:ב')", כיצד, זו קדושת מצות שכל זמן שהקב"ה מוסיף להם מצוה לישראל הוא מוסיף להם קדושה. Finkelstein comments (Sifre, *loc. cit.*, note 16): לדעתי שתי הדרשות הן פולמוסיות כנגד הכנסיה הנוצרית וכל הענין הוא הקדמה לפ' שלפי מיכדיה היא הכנולה. Friedmann (p. 94a, note 5) explains: מאכלות האסורות כנגד תלמידו של רבן גמליאל שנהיה תלמיד תלמידו של ר' יהושע בן פרחיה.

not know whether God chose Israel or God chose the Christians"; or perhaps: "And we do not know whether God elected Israel or rejected Israel." But our Sifre reads instead, "And we do not know whether God chose Israel or Israel chose God." This is the textual difficulty which has led to the misinterpretation of the entire passage and has obscured the real point of argument.

However, even a cursory familiarity with the rabbinic idiom would immediately rule out the first two suggested formulations. The Rabbis would never overtly express either God's choosing the Christians or His utter rejection of Israel (in the Christian sense) – even as a theoretic possibility. They would suggest such an alternative only with the greatest caution, obliquely or euphemistically. We would suggest that this is the very thing that our Rabbi has done in his definition of "the matter still in doubt."

Let us recall the example of this type of argument cited above (II.A.). The fourth step in the syllogism, the definition of the matter in doubt, is expressed in the form of either/or. Either Job served God out of fear, or he served out of love (Soṭah 5:5); either the land of Israel atones for its inhabitants' sins, or it makes them suffer their sins (Sifre Deut. 343). If one alternative is denied, the other is affirmed and by proving one of the possibilities the other is disproved. They are invariably disjunctive propositions, stating mutually exclusive alternatives. Our case, however, does not follow this form.

The alternatives in our Sifre passage are: a) "God chose Israel," or b) "Israel chose God." Now let us deny a. "God chose Israel," keeping in mind that the reference is to the event at Sinai. By so doing we are also denying b. "Israel chose God," because the only reason for God's not choosing Israel would be Israel's not choosing God. Otherwise, the original choice of Jacob and his descendants would still be in effect. Now if we affirm a. "God chose Israel," we are at the same time affirming b. "Israel chose God." The Rabbi is replying to a challenge which bases itself on the Rabbi's own assumption that the choice is made on the basis of merit, not grace. Therefore, if God chose Israel, they merited the choice, i. e., they chose God.[36]

[36] There are numerous passages in rabbinic literature which imply that the choice was conditional. See, for example, the statements of Judah b. 'Illai as opposed to Rabbi Meir (references in note 33, above) and Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai, *loc. cit.*, 19.5, בזמן שאתם בדילים מן העמים אתם לי ואם לאו הרי אתם לנבוכדנצר הרשע וחבריו or the parallel passage in Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el and Sifre 31:1, p. 331. However, none of these statements implies an ultimate rejection – without hope of reconciliation through obedience to the commandments. Note the introduction of the formula "with an eternal love" (אהבת עולם) rather than "with a great love" (אהבה

Now let us follow the same procedure with b. "Israel chose God." If we affirm it, we also affirm a., and if we deny it, we simultaneously deny a., following the above reasoning.[37] In other words, the stated alternatives in our Sifre passage are not alternatives at all. Both parts of the proposition say exactly the same thing. The true choices are not stated; they are only very subtly implied. Unlike the other examples of this type of syllogism where "the matter in doubt (step d)" is stated in the form of a disjunctive proposition, our Sifre passage states only one of the alternatives (a and b are equivalents). The other alternative, the negative one, is implied by the affirmative form of the stated one. By saying that there is doubt about God's choosing Israel or (the same thing) Israel choosing God, our Rabbi suggests the possibility of God's not choosing and even rejecting Israel. The true alternatives of our passage are therefore to be expressed: "But the matter is still in doubt and we do not know if God chose Israel or (by implication) if He rejected Israel (following Israel's idolatrous behavior)." The final proof-text (Deut. 14:2) then follows and it demonstrates conclusively that Israel remained God's elect

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רבה) into the daily liturgy by the Rabbis (Berakhoth 11b). Cf. the discussion of H. J. Schoeps referred to in note 26, above.

Note as well the reported prohibition against disputation with the Christians mentioned by Justin (Dialogue, etc. 38, 112) and the Talmud, 'Avodah Zarah 17a, 27b. Yer. 'Avodah Zarah 40d–41a, Yer. Shabbath 14d. This would also explain the subtlety of the polemical rabbinic passages and the reluctance of the Rabbis to name their opponent or express their arguments in any but the most euphemistic language.

[37] If we affirm "Israel chose God" then the original elect state of Jacob's descendants remains in effect and we automatically affirm "God chose Israel," as well. On the other hand, if we deny that "Israel chose God" then Israel no longer merits the choice and we would, therefore, also negate "God chose Israel." However, even if we do not consider the stated alternatives as equivalents, they are obviously not mutually exclusive and, at the very least, would be translated "neither . . . nor . . ." (and not "either . . . or . . .") with the possibility of denying both. The concept of Israel as a "God choosing people" with the apologetic background and humanistic context of this concept is largely responsible for the misunderstanding of this passage. It is very well to interpret the doctrine of election as Israel's historic aspiration in line with a contemporary naturalistic, humanistic mood. However, we do violence to the Rabbis if we attempt to impose this concept on a second century text. The thought of "God's choosing" presented no problem to the Jews of the Rabbinic Period. The difficulty for them was how to reconcile the choice with God's justice (*mishpat*) in the face of Israel's sinfulness, with the sad lot of the Jews following the destruction, and with God's universal concern. God, to the Rabbis, acts within a rationally comprehensible ethical framework. Meritorious deeds must, therefore, play a role in God's choosing. The justification of God's choice of Abel, Enoch, Noah, the patriarchs, Moses and Israel is a major preoccupation of the Rabbis in midrashic literature.

and that the legal prescriptions are a concrete expression of God's choice.

The difficulties raised above (II.A.) have now been resolved. The passage is a coherent unit and follows the formal pattern of every syllogism of this type. The question "still in doubt" (step d) is based on the fact that *both* previously cited proof-texts are inconclusive. The final proof-text affirms the original proposition. The argument of our Sifre may now be expressed in the following syllogistic form:

a) The Jews are the chosen people. (The underlying issue in the entire passage.)
b) Proof-texts, Deut. 32:9 and Ps. 135:4. (These proof-texts must be understood in light of the specific challenge to the Jewish doctrine of election which centered on God's choosing Abraham.)
c) But the matter is still in doubt. (Deut. 32:9 and Ps. 135:4 are inconclusive.)
d) We do not know whether God chose Israel or (implied) whether God rejected Israel. (This question must again be understood in terms of the challenge which argues against Israel's chosenness on the basis of the golden calf incident and which questions the validity of the legal prescriptions.)
e) The final proof-text (Deut. 14:2). (This text affirms the original alternative stated in a., God chose Israel.)

III

A

Only one difficulty that we raised above (II.A.) remains unresolved After citing the final proof text (Deut. 14:2), the author of our passage, contrary to usual form, continues the discussion with another question ומנין שאף יעקב בחר בו ביה and then concludes with a text from Jeremiah (10:16) שנאמר, לא כאלה חלק יעקב. The obvious translation of this final section of our Sifre is: "And from where in the Bible do we know that Jacob also chose God? It is said in Scriptures, 'Not like these is the portion of Jacob, for He is the one who forms all things . . .' " (Jer. 10:16). The last section of our passage would then be interpreted to refer to the alternatives in the preceding discussion. Our Rabbi raised the question "Did God choose or did Israel choose." After proving that God chose (Deut. 14:2), he now proceeds to prove the second alternative, Israel also chose (Jer. 10:16).

We have pointed out (II.A.) the difficulty that this interpretation raises from the point of view of formal structure. The final proof text of this type of argument (step e), invariably affirms one of the alternatives. In no instance are both possibilities proved. How is it then, that our author would prove both alternatives? However, this objection is now mitigated since, as we demonstrated above, every other formulation of the alternatives is a disjunctive proposition where a. and b. are mutually exclusive, therefore only one of the two may be proved. It is logically impossible to prove both. The stated alternatives (not the real ones) in our passage, however, are complementary and our author may logically prove that God chose Israel and then prove also that Israel chose God.

In reality, however, our analysis of the argument up to this point compounds the difficulty. If the two stated alternatives of our passage refer to the covenant at Sinai and are equivalent, as we have demonstrated, why prove the same thought twice? If "God chose Israel" is identical with "Israel chose God" why repeat the demonstration for each one, when by affirming one we automatically affirm the other? The continuation of the discussion would be senseless and confusing.

Consider, as well, some textual irregularities. These are not very serious but they are worthy of note. The alternatives stated by our author are: ישראל בחר בהקדוש ברוך הוא בחר לו ישראל or הקב"ה בחר לו ישראל ברוך הוא. He proved that God chose Israel (הקב"ה בחר לו ישראל). Now, if the final argument of our passage is a continuation of the same argument, we would naturally expect the text to read ומנין שאף ישראל בחרו בהקדוש ברוך הוא. Instead, we find ומנין שאף יעקב בחר ביה.[38] Granted that Jacob is used interchangeably with Israel to designate the people of Israel.[39] Nevertheless, since the subject under discussion is Israel, in contrast to the patriarch Jacob referred to in the very first part of our passage, the formulation יעקב בחר ביה (or even Friedmann's reading יעקב בחר בהקב"ה) disturbs and suggests the need for a closer scrutiny of the intent of this question.

[38] Note the number of textual variants in this section of the passage as indicated by Finkelstein in his critical apparatus and in the parallel passages (note 2, above). They are indications of the difficulty various editors had with the text and its interpretation. Midrash Tannaim, p. 73, asks the same question in connection with the first half of Ps. 135:4 but refers specifically to the patriarch, ומנין שאבינו יעקב. However, this reading is but further proof of the composite nature of the Midrash Tannaim passage. See Appendix, below.

[39] Jacob, according to the Rabbis, may be designated either as Israel or Jacob unlike Abraham who is not to be called Abram (Berakhoth 13a).

The proof-text from Jeremiah, . . . לא כאלה חלק יעקב also leaves one not quite satisfied. Our assumption is that the Rabbi is trying to prove that Israel chose God. Now, we grant that Jeremiah's calling God the חלק יעקב, "the portion of Jacob," is an indication that Jacob chose (or will choose) God, just as the phrase in Deut. 32:9, חלק ה' עמו, is understood to mean "God chose His people." The impression nevertheless persists that a more direct proof-text could have beeen found without leaving the Pentateuch, the source for the other proof-texts.[40] Note also that in the entire midrashic literature we find not one instance of the Jeremiah text being used in this sense.

No one of the foregoing objections is by itself conclusive. When we consider all of them together, however, they are serious enough to justify a search for an interpretation which would yield a smoother reading and would eliminate the above stated difficulties.

We would propose that this final section of our passage is not a continuation of the preceding argument regarding Israel's choosing in the past. That syllogism concluded with Deut. 14:2. It consists of five steps, like every other argument of its kind. The new question and the answer from Jeremiah deal with the third part of the elaborate argument for the election of Christians and against the election of the Jews. We shall again follow the procedure adopted in the previous two sections of our study. After reconstructing the challenge and analyzing the Rabbi's response, the Jeremiah verse, we will then return to the formulation of the question in our Sifre text.

B

We have analyzed, thus far, two facets of the Christian argument current in the second century. The election of Abraham because of his "faith," before he was circumcised, of Isaac though he was the younger, of Jacob while he was still in his mother's womb, were all indications that God chose the Christians. This was the positive proof for the elect status of those who put their faith in Jesus. The negative aspect of the argument was used to demonstrate that God rejected the Jews, that the Jews were not heir to "the promise." The idolatry of the Jews, Moses' shattering of the tablets proved that the election of the Patriarchs and their descendants did not apply to the Jews after Sinai. These two arguments were effectively refuted by the author of our Sifre passage.

The Christian, however, used one more argument, perhaps the most

[40] Ps. 135:4 is only a supporting text. The main proofs are Deut. 32:9 and 14:2.

persuasive to a second century audience. He would reach a climax in his debate by pointing not to an event in the remote past but to the contemporary scene, to the condition of the Jews in his own time. "How do you explain," he would challenge the Rabbi, "the destruction of the temple, the fall of Jerusalem, the miserable lot of your people? Is this not the decisive proof that God has rejected you Jews and has delivered you for destruction at the hand of your enemies? The story of your people is one of continuous rebellion against God. Why, they even made an idol of the temple. Instead of putting their trust in God who made them, they put it in the building, as if it were the house of God. In fact, they almost resembled the heathen in consecrating Him by the temple .... But it has been revealed that the city, the temple and the people of Israel are doomed. Your stiff-necked idolatry has finally resulted in utter rejection. Now there is only one true temple. Not the temple built by hand which was in fact 'a nest of idolatry and a haunt of demons ...' but a spiritual temple, in us — that is where God really dwells. Through faith in Jesus and his teachings one is ushered into this imperishable temple."

This is the substance of the sixteenth chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas. Note the sequence of the argument in Barnabas. Chap. 13 God's choice of the younger sons and His choice of Abraham, "the father of many nations." Chap. 14 — Israel's idolatry at Sinai and their refusal to accept the covenant. Chap. 15 — The purely spiritual meaning of the commandment to rest on the seventh day — and (by implication) of all the other commandments discussed by Barnabas in earlier chapters. Chap. 16 — The destruction of the temple and the fall of Jerusalem, etc.

The Rabbi has successfully countered the arguments in chaps. 13–15. Now how would he answer the final challenge? The Rabbi himself had undoubtedly explained the destruction of Jerusalem and the suffering of Israel as a consequence of the Jews' sinfulness.[41] How could the author of our passage convince his Jewish audience that their degradation is not a sign of God's final rejection? Recall the plight of the Jewish people following the Bar Kokhba rebellion, a not unlikely setting for our Sifre passage. The land lay devastated, the population — decimated, the community — in chaos, the very last hope shattered, seemingly beyond revival.[42] At hand was the

[41] See H. J. Schoeps, "Die Ursachen der Tempelzerstörung," *op. cit.*, pp. 145–53. Note also, G. Allon's analysis of chap. XVI of Barnabas in תולדות היהודים בא"י בתקופת המשנה והתלמוד (Tel Aviv, 1952), pp. 280 ff.

[42] Yer. Peah 7:1 notes: ... לא היו הזיתים מצויין שבא אדריינוס הרשע וחרבים את כל הארץ.

Christian group with its ready and plausible explanation and promise of salvation through Jesus. What could the Rabbi reply?

He, no doubt, comforted his fellow Jews by re-emphasizing that God's relationship to Israel was that of a father to his son. A father may punish in anger or even out of love but he never rejects. He may "hide his face" but a reconciliation inevitably follows. The basic relationship remains.[43] Didn't God claim Jacob as His son? Jacob received "the field" not as a "tenant" but as a son, permanently.[44] However, the Rabbi's reassurance will not suffice. His argument is circular; this is the very point that is being challenged; he is begging the question. Is it not the Rabbi's own position that Israel's relationship with God is covenantal and that God's favor must be earned? (Esau and Ishmael were rejected because they were not worthy.) God's attribute of justice demands that sinful rebellion be paid for with banishment and rejection. The Jews had been told again and again that their stubborn sinfulness would be their downfall. The day of final reckoning had come. Israel has fallen never to rise again.

The only effective response would be a clear biblical text which speaks not of an event in the past but one that looks to the future, — a prophecy that sees Israel's degradation as a part of a grand Divine scheme of history which culminates in a final redemption. The Rabbi's scriptural citation would have to give assurance that Israel's option to choose remains open — more so, that Israel shall choose; it is part of the plan, and Israel's ultimate destiny. The ideal proof-text would have to transcend the dismal present and give comfort of a messianic reconciliation. Jer. 10:16 as understood by the Rabbis is such a text. A mere reference to this verse conveyed to a second century audience all that we indicated — and more.

Jeremiah tells Israel in the tenth chapter not to be dismayed by the signs attributed to the idols. They are impotent. Only God is the true God. He created the world by His wisdom and He is responsible for the rain and the wind. Everything functions in accordance with the plan and will of the Creator. This God, the true God, is the portion of Jacob, and Israel is His inheritance. His special relationship to Israel is an integral part of His universal scheme. He is the Lord of Hosts.[45]

But Jeremiah continues in another vein. Immediately following his comforting reassurance, the prophet laments as he sees the temple destroyed ("my tent is spoiled" as the Rabbis would interpret it),

[43] See note 36, above. [44] Note 14 and text, above.

[45] The Rabbis often understand "the Lord of Hosts" to indicate the God of battle, of victory, when His משפט is triumphant. Exod. Rabbah 3:6 and Tanhuma, Shemoth 20.

the flocks scattered, "the cities of Judah desolate, a dwelling place of jackals."[46] He pleads (for Israel), that the Lord chastise not by rejection (אל־באפך 10:24), but only to the extent that God's justice (משפט) demands, only to the degree necessary for Israel to merit their choice and destiny. God would pour out his wrath (חמתך, spurn),[47] the prophet prays, on the nations who knew Him not, upon those who have devoured Jacob and have laid waste his habitation. Israel's lot is God. But the people of Israel need *musar* (יסרני ה' אך במשפט . . .) to cause them to turn from their wayward path. This is the necessary corollary of God's משפט. Regardless of the immediate condition of Israel, God shall be the חלק יעקב just as Israel is the שבט נחלתו.

The Rabbi's invoking the proof-text from Jeremiah recalled to his listeners a total structure of consolation, the prophetic נחמתא.[48] God must chastise Israel so that they will choose and thus help realize God's universal plan. Israel's suffering is proof of their special place in the Divine scheme. (תוכחה and נחמה are the two sides of the same coin within a scheme of משפט.) To reap the benefits of God's having chosen them, they need but choose. The option is live. Israel's degradation is God's מוסר, the father's chastisement of his son so that he will claim his rightful inheritance. Every citation of Jer. 10:16 in midrashic literature indicates that the Rabbis, without a single exception, interpreted this verse as one of messianic consolation.

One of the structural characteristics of the Pesiqta and Tanḥuma homilies (the sermons of Lev. and Deut. Rabbah, the Pesiqtoth, Tanḥuma) is that they conclude with a messianic verse, a biblical text which speaks of the future glory of Israel.[49] These were oft-used verses,

[46] Compare the story of the four Tannaim visiting the temple mount. Three of them wept at the sight of jackals but R. Akiba laughed . . . Sifre Deut. 43, p. 95 and Makkoth 24b.

[47] Compare the almost identical verse in Ps. 79:6 and the relationship of God to Israel as conceived by the Psalmist.

[48] The rabbinic use of חלק has the overtones of "portion in the world to come," "destiny." Recall the expressions, . . . יהי חלקי עם, חלק לעוה"ב, etc. The Midrash often records its message in hints, brief notes — in a form of shorthand. An allusion frequently recalls a complex syndrome of ideas.

[49] Theodor, "Zur Composition der agadischen Homilien," *Monatschrift f. Geschichte und Wissenschaft d. Judenthums* (1879), vol. 28, p. 109: "Endlich schliessen die meisten Piskas mit der Anführung von Bibelversen, die die hoffnungsreiche Zukunft Israels verkünden." M. Margulies, Wayyikra Rabbah, V, p. XII: כאן (בויקרא רבה) כל פרשה מסתיימת בחתימה ברורה, בכיום לצר בדברי ברכה ונחמה, כדרך כל סיומי דרשות מאז ועד היום . . . Cf. L. Zunz, *Haderashot Beyisra'el* (tr. Albeck) (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 79, 85; E. Stein, "Die Homiletische Peroratio im Midrasch," *HUCA*, vols. 8–9, pp. 362 ff.; A. Marmorstein, "The Background of the Haggadah," *HUCA*, vol. VI (1929), pp. 184 ff.

familiar to the audience, which did not require subtle exegesis or lengthy interpretation. They provided much needed encouragement and evoked a spirit of hope in the face of an often intolerable present. Each sermon in the Pesiqta deRav Kahana, a collection of occasional sermons for the special sabbaths and festivals based on the prescribed pentateuchal or prophetic lesson, ends with such a verse of consolation. The homily for the second of the three special sabbaths preceding the Ninth of Av (תלתא דפורענותא)[50] concludes with our Jeremiah text לא כאלה חלק יעקב.[51]

An even more explicit messianic interpretation of our Jeremiah verse is to be found in the Tanḥuma and Lev. Rabbah.[52] In commenting on Isaac's blessing of Jacob (. . . ויתן לך האלהים, Gen. 27:28), the Tanḥuma calls attention to the definite article in האלהים and explains it as follows: "(Isaac said to Jacob), 'God will grant you the blessing that I invoke upon you when He will perfect His lack (or kingdom,[53] i. e., when אלהים will be האלהים).' For Jacob is a partner of God in everything. Rabbi Pinḥas . . . said, 'Note what is written in Scriptures, "Not like these is the portion of Jacob for he (Jacob) is the one who forms all things." (The exegesis is on the word הוא. Rabbi Pinḥas understands the antecedent of the pronoun הוא to be "Jacob," not "the Portion of Jacob." Jacob is the creator of everything in the sense that now it is all up to him).' "[54] The blessing of Isaac will be fulfilled when Jacob will recognize his duties as God's partner (Jacob is God's inheritance so Jacob must claim God as his), when he will finally choose and thus perfect God's kingdom and, כביכול, God Himself.

The Jeremiah text is thus a cogent reply to the new Christian challenge based upon the destruction of the temple and the fallen state of Israel. The prophetic verse gives clear assurance that Israel's suffering is divine *musar*, not rejection. Jacob remains God's beloved son who ultimately shall claim his portion and thus bring God's plan to fulfillment.

[50] See I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1931), p. 178.

[51] Pesiqta deRav Kahana XIV, p. 119a. The entire passage supports our analysis. God tells Israel not to hesitate to return to Him because of their fear that their sins are too grievous. He assures them that He is ready to forgive and forget.

[52] Tanḥuma (Buber) Toledoth 11, p. 132, and Lev. Rabbah 36:4.

[53] Yalqut Makhiri 31:23, p. 200, reads כשיטול אלהים מלכותו, instead of כשיכלים אלהים מליתו. See, Tanḥuma, *loc. cit.*, note 72.

[54] Lev. Rabbah, *loc. cit.*, expounds the Jeremiah verse identically, i. e., Jacob is taken to be the antecedent of הוא.

C

We may now return to our midrashic text and examine it in the light of our discussion. Deut. 14:2 proved that God chose Israel after their idolatry at Sinai. Israel remained God's son. Now follows a new question, ומנין שאף יעקב בחר ביה. We understand בחר as referring not to a past event. The question is to be translated not, "whence do we know that Jacob chose" — in the past. Were this the intent of the question we should be faced with all the objections raised above (II.A.). The new challenge is rather: "What scriptural proof do we have that Jacob may still choose — that he shall choose? The context of this question is the situation of the Jews in our midrashic author's own time, after Jesus, after the destruction of the temple and probably after the failure of the Bar Kokhba rebellion. The discussion in this last part of our Sifre shifts to the present and future. It responds to a new challenge, as the formal structure of the preceding completed syllogism indicates. The Rabbi replies to the challenge and concludes the discussion with a messianic text, Jer. 10:16, which gives assurance that it is Israel's ultimate destiny to choose God.

This interpretation removes all the difficulties. This final section of our Sifre is not an answer to the stated "second" alternative of the previous discussion, ואם ישראל בחרו בהקב"ה. It is a new question and therefore may be differently formulated, יעקב בחר ביה.[55] Though the wording of the question is suggested by the Psalm verse cited earlier (135:4) כי יעקב בחר לו יה, it refers neither to the historic Jacob nor to the covenant at Sinai, but to the possibility of Israel's choosing in the present and future. Otherwise the answer (Jer. 10:16) is not in place. The Jeremiah proof-text is convincing only if we interpret the question in a sense that requires a messianic answer.[56]

[55] Israel, on the basis of the etymology frequently mentioned by Philo, "the man who saw God" (איש ראה אל), is identified by him with the Logos and is equated in the writings of the Church Fathers with Christ. See, for example, Justin, *Dialogue*, etc., chap. 75: "For, indeed, He was called Israel and Jacob's name was changed to this also." It is likely that in response to this very common equation, the Rabbis preferred the name Jacob as the specific designation for the Jews, especially in discussing their future role. Cf. note 39, above.

[56] Midrash Tannaim 14:2, p. 73 cites the Jeremiah text in response to the question ומנין שאבינו יעקב בחר במקום. The יעקב in Jer. 10:16 is interpreted as the patriarch Jacob (cf. Appendix, below). In our passage, however, the question cannot possibly refer to the patriarch, for that issue was settled in the very first part of the discussion. The Jeremiah proof-text is therefore to be understood in the sense in which it is used in the total literature, namely, as a messianic verse. The question must therefore also refer to the future. Note also that the following Sifre comment on the last part

We are now in a position to reconstruct the full dialogue, both the Christian challenge current in the second century (based on Barnabas' formulation of it) and the Rabbi's response. The Christians argued that they are the true chosen people based on the election of Abraham, of Isaac though he was the younger, of Jacob before he was born. The Rabbi replied in the first part of our Sifre passage that the choice took place not with Abraham but with Jacob because of his meritorious deeds and that he and his progeny were chosen as sons, permanently. The Christian then claimed that God rejected Israel after they turned to an idol at Sinai and that the "law" as practiced by the Jews was not the true covenant. Our author cited Deut. 14:2 which demonstrates that Israel remained the chosen people and that the legal prescriptions were a sign of the choice. The final challenge then centered on the destruction of the temple and the sad lot of the Jewish people. The Rabbi responded with Jer. 10:16 to prove that God is Israel's ultimate destiny; the option is live; the children of Israel need but exercise it, and they will for that is their ultimate role in history.

D

It is possible to see our Sifre passage as a composite, lacking coherence and unity. The introduction of the Psalm verse as a proof-text may have attracted the entire subsequent discussion. The passage would thus consist of two independent units joined together by a later editor with Ps. 135:4 serving as the connecting link. Such a conclusion, however, is to be adopted, especially without the support of textual variants, only as a last resort. Furthermore, the formal structure of the syllogism would still remain a problem.

There is an obvious hazard in the procedure that we have adopted, as well. The attempt to salvage the unity of a passage at all cost may result in a farfetched pilpulism. The literature abounds in ingenious and imaginative structures built on a textual corruption.

We are persuaded, however, of the soundness of our method and urge its application to other, similar tannaitic passages. The insistence of the author of our Sifre on the choice of Israel having been initiated with Jacob and not Abraham identifies the passage as a polemical one and establishes the ideational context. The three proof-texts, Deut. 32:9, Deut. 14:2 and Jer. 10:16, immediately suggest a direct and cogent response to the prevailing three part argument for the elect

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of Deut. 32:9 יעקב חבל נחלתו supports our interpretation. It speaks of חבל as גדל and concludes with the assurance that the tie that binds God and Jacob endures.

status of the Christians as expounded in the compendia literature (Testimoniallehre) of the time. The three basic points of our passage, as implied in the three proof-texts, and the three parts of the Christian argument as they appear in Barnabas form a perfect whole. It is like finding the missing half of a dialogue, an exact fit.

Form analysis then leads to the discovery of the precise meaning of the transitional phrases, the Christian argument as restated by the Rabbi. The nature of the subject matter and the character of the literature dictate that the Rabbi's formulation be veiled and euphemistic. The structure of the argument, determined by the introductory technical formula, is an indispensable aid in uncovering the plain meaning.

Our method thus includes the following three steps: a) The discovery of the historic setting and the ideational environment. b) An appreciation of the syndrome of ideas which cluster about a proof-text based on biblical context and on the use of the text in the total rabbinic literature. c) Form analysis of the exegetic syllogism determined by the introductory technical phrase.

APPENDIX

Midrash Tannaim to Deut. 14:2 (D. Hoffmann), p. 73

We concluded (II.C. above) that the problem, "And we do not know if God chose Jacob or Jacob chose God," was not prompted by the ambiguity of Ps. 135:4 (i. e., Is God or Jacob the subject of the verse?), but by the fact that neither of the texts (Deut. 32:9 and Ps. 135:4) conclusively proves that God chose Israel after Sinai, after Israel's worship of the golden calf. This interpretation is challenged by a comment of Midrash Tannaim to Deut. 14:2.[57] The question ואין אנו יודעים אם . . . ואם . . . is clearly interpreted in Midrash Tannaim as arising from the syntactical ambiguity of Ps. 135:4. A careful analysis of this passage is therefore necessary to determine whether our interpretation of Sifre Deut. 32:9 can be maintained.

The comment of Midrash Tannaim is as follows:

ד"א בך בחר ה' אלהיך למה נאמר לפי שהוא אומר (תהלים קל"ה:ד') כי יעקב בחר לו יה ישראל ואין אנו יודעים אם יה בחר ביעקב ואם יעקב בחר ביה ת"ל בך בחר ה', וכנ' שאבינו יעקב בחר במקום שנ' (ירמיהו י':ט"ז) לא כאלה חלק יעקב: להיות לו לעם סגלה למה נאמר לפי שהוא אומר (תהלים קל"ה:ד') ישראל לסגולתו ואין אנו יודעים אם ישראל עושין למקום סגלה ואם המקום עושה להן סגולה לישראל ת"ל (ישראל לסגולתו) [להיות לו לעם סגלה]

The Midrash Tannaim then continues with a series of other biblical verses (introduced by the familiar formula כיוצא בו אתה אומר) which contain ambiguities similar to Ps. 135:4 and are "clarified" only in the light of other verses (similar to Ps. 135:4 the ambiguity of which is "resolved" by Deut. 14:2).

Now if this passage is from a tannaitic source, it would weaken considerably our analysis of Sifre Deut. 32:9. For here in Midrash Tannaim it is clear that the problem is the ambiguity of Ps. 135:4 — did God choose Jacob or did Jacob choose God; did Israel make God its treasure or did God make Israel His treasure? The series of parallels cited in the continuation of the passage as examples of similar ambiguities in other biblical verses permit no other interpretation. This passage would indicate that the question of who made the initial choice — Israel or God — was, contrary to our contention,[58] a problem suggested by Ps. 135:4. We would therefore have to interpret the similar question in our Sifre passage (Deut. 32:9) in the light of this

[57] Midrash Tannaim zum Deuteronomium, ed. D. Hoffmann (Berlin, 1909), p. 73. Cf. note 26, above.

[58] See Sections II A and notes 18, 26 and 38, above.

rabbinic concern. Though the many problems we raised above (II.A) would still remain, a solution other than the one we suggested would have to be found.

Upon close analysis, however, we find that this passage in Midrash Tannaim is a very late composite, based partially on Sifre Deut. 14:2 and 32:9. These passages were reworked and added to by the author of Midrash Haggadol — the source for Midrash Tannaim — as was his usual practice. The Midrash Tannaim to Deut. 14:2 is therefore of no relevance for the understanding of our Sifre passage. In the process of our analysis we, incidentally, gain additional insight into the manner in which the post-Maimonidean, Yemenite author[59] of Midrash Haggadol treated the classic sources.

David Hoffmann's Midrash Tannaim as well as his edition of the Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shim'on b. Yoḥai are primarily compilations of passages selected from the Midrash Haggadol to Deuteronomy and Exodus, respectively — passages which, according to Hoffmann, were taken from the original Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shim'on b. Yoḥai and from lost Tannaitic Midrashim to Deuteronomy.[60] Hoffmann was aware that the author of Midrash Haggadol made numerous changes in the material which he included in his anthology.[61] The author of Midrash Haggadol, Hoffmann maintains, abbreviated and added; he combined passages from a variety of sources and as a result, it is difficult to determine with any degree of precision the original version of any midrashic passage. "Only the discovery of a manuscript (of the Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shim'on b. Yoḥai)," Hoffmann concludes, "will enable us to make the necessary corrections and to reestablish the original version of the Mekhilta."[62]

The Midrash Haggadol to Deuteronomy, the source for Midrash

[59] The authorship of Midrash Haggadol is generally attributed to Dawid b. 'Amram 'Al'adani. Cf. 'Avoth deRabbi Nathan, ed. S. Schechter, Introduction, p. 15, and references given by S. Lieberman in *Midreshei Teiman*, p. 3, note 2, and by M. Kasher, הרמב"ם והמכילתא דרשב"י (New York, 1943), pp. 20 f. Kasher concludes ברור ונעלה מכל ספק שר' דוד (בן עמרם העדני) חברו.

[60] Israel Lewy, *Ein Wort über die Mechilta des R. Simon* (Breslau, 1889), was the first to note that the Midrash Haggadol quoted extensively from Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai.

[61] On the basis of comparison with a few manuscript fragments of Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai provided by S. Schechter (cf. Hoffmann's introduction to his Mekhilta, p. ix), and Schechter's introduction to his edition of Midrash Haggadol to Genesis (Cambridge, 1902), p. 13.

[62] Mechilta de-Rabbi Simon b. Jochai, ed. D. Hoffmann, Frankfurt a. Main, 1905. Introduction, p. ix. He felt that only those passages in his Mekhilta were definitely faithful to the original which he could compare with the few manuscripts available to him, or with versions quoted in other secondary sources (Naḥmanides, etc., cf. M. Higger, ספר התנאים בתקופת הגאונים, pp. 32 and 55.)

Tannaim,[63] is based, Hoffmann conjectures, on two ancient midrashim, the Mekhilta to Deuteronomy (now lost) and the Sifre.[64] In his introduction to Midrash Tannaim, Hoffmann again cautions that the author of Midrash Haggadol was particularly attracted to the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud. He, therefore, often omitted a passage from the Sifre or Mekhilta and substituted a talmudic or mishnaic comment. He even rejected an ancient midrash, Hoffmann complains, in favor of a halakhah from the Code of Maimonides.[65]

However, due to the efforts of a number of scholars and the discovery of new manuscripts, we have learned considerably more than was known to Hoffmann about the method of the compiler of Midrash Haggadol in his treatment of the sources. The work of S. Horovitz,[66] L. Finkelstein,[67] Ch. Albeck,[68], J. N. Epstein,[69] M. Margulies,[70] E. Z.

[63] Hoffmann included in his Midrash Tannaim two Genizah fragments, on Deut. 11:26–12:3; 12:27–13:1 and 13:14–13:19 (Midrash Tannaim, pp. 56–62 and 69–71), published by S. Schechter in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI, 1904, pp. 446–52 and 695–97. J. N. Epstein republished these two fragments in *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an Hirsch Perez Chajes* (Wien, 1933), Hebrew Section, pp. 60 ff. He explains the need to republish these manuscripts as follows: אבל הופמן לא . . . ראה את נוף כה"י (שנתפרכמו ראשונה על ידי שכטר) אלא כפך על שכטר שלא דקדק כאן כלל בקריאתו והעתקתו, ובידוד יצא דדף השני משובש מקוטע ומסורס, והופמן שטרח להניהו ולהשלימו (ע"פ מה"נ) השלימו והגידו בס"מ בניגוד לכהב"ד. Note particularly Epstein's analysis of the Midrash Haggadol passage (pp. 73–75) where he shows how the author of Midrash Haggadol combined in the same passage the Mekhilta to Deut., the Sifre, the Mishnah, Babyl. Talmud and the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides. Cf. Epstein, *Prolegomena ad Letteras Tannaiticas* (Tel Aviv, 1957), pp. 631 ff. and his מבוא לנוסח המשנה (Jerusalem, 1948), vol. II, p. 747.

[64] Midrash Tannaim, Introduction, p. vi. Cf. Epstein, *loc. cit.*, and Zunz-Albeck, *Haderashoth Beyisra'el* (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 242, note 49.

[65] *Ibid.* W. Bacher, *Tradition und Tradenten*, pp. 178 ff., lists all the passages in Midrash Haggadol to Deut. introduced by the formula מכאן אמרו (usually followed by a citation from a tannaitic source) taken from the Bab. Talmud and Maimonides' Mishneh Torah.

[66] S. Horovitz, *Beitrage zur Erklarung und Textkritik der Mechilta des R. Simon* (Breslau, 1919). Cf. Horovitz's edition of Sifre to Num., Introduction, p. xix.

[67] L. Finkelstein, "כעע כמכילתא דרשב"י," *Kohut Memorial Volume* (New York, 1935), pp. 102–20. He maintains that "On the basis of these fragments it is clear that one cannot rely on the citations in the Midrash Haggadol from the halakhic portions of the Mekhilta d'Rabbi Shime'on b. Yohai. In the haggadic portions, the author of Midrash Haggadol copies the Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yohai, in most instances, with precision. But in the halakhic portions, he made changes . . . (p. 102.)." However, E. Z. Melamed (in his edition of Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yohai, see below) has shown conclusively that the author of Midrash Haggadol may be relied upon neither in the halakhic nor in the haggadic citations.

[68] Ch. Albeck, *Untersuchungen, etc.*, pp. 151 ff.

[69] See references in note 63, above.

[70] In his excellent editions of Midrash Haggadol to Gen. and Exod.

Melamed[71] and of others,[72] enables us to delineate precisely how the sources were changed by the author of Midrash Haggadol. We thus gain a clearer view, by analogy, of the evolution of our passage in Midrash Tannaim 14:2 (p. 73).

Professor Albeck summarizes the literature as follows: "(The author of Midrash Haggadol) . . . arranges passages taken from a variety of sources one following the other, without distinguishing between them . . . he inserts his own explanation and additions as well as those of the Aruch and Rashi. Similarly, he collected not only from the Talmud and midrashic literature but he took passages from Alfasi, Maimonides and others, clothed them in midrashic garb and introduced them with '*teno Rabbanan*' and similar (typically rabbinic) formulae, so that it is impossible to determine their source. Moreover, he was not exact in quoting the version of the Midrash before him but he changed it as he saw fit so that it is difficult to ascertain on the basis of this anthology what Midrashim he used and what their original version was . . ."[73]

E. Z. Melamed published a new edition of the Mekhilta in 1955. (He completed the work begun by J. N. Epstein.) This edition is based on all the manuscript material available (164 pages out of 224 are from manuscripts). On the basis of this considerably larger body of material, Melamed describes, analyzes and gives examples of the numerous ways in which the author of Midrash Haggadol changed the source material included in his anthology.[74] Some of these methods, noted by Melamed, are of particular relevance to the evaluation of our passage in Midrash Tannaim (Deut. 14:2): a) He summarizes the language of the source — halakhic or haggadic — sometimes compressing a whole page into a few lines. b) He changes the sequence of the passages and the sequence of statements within a passage. c) He changes an unusual or difficult expression into an accustomed or well-known phrase (at times, changing thereby the the meaning of the original source). d) When several verses or examples are cited in a source introduced by the phrase כיוצא בו or וכן אתה אומר, the author of Midrash Haggadol separates the various parts and uses them as com-

[71] In the introduction to his edition of Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai, pp. 46 ff.

[72] W. Bacher, *Tradition und Tradenten*, pp. 178 ff.; S. Liebermann, *Yemenite Midrashim* (Jerusalem, 1940), pp. 1–7; L. Ginzberg, פירושים וחידושים בירושלמי, vol. III, pp. 240 ff.; M. Kasher, *op. cit.*; and the references in Zunz-Albeck, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 158 f.

[74] Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Joḥai, J. N. Epstein and E. Z. Melamed (Jerusalem, 1955), Introduction, pp. 47 ff.

ments to different verses. e) He weaves together statements from a variety of sources and combines them into a single passage, at times retaining the language of the original sources and, at times, revising and abbreviating them. f) He inserts into the middle of a passage from the original source statements from the Mishnah, Tosefta, Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el, Sifre, Gen. Rabbah, Midrash to Psalms, Yelamdenu, Tanḥuma, Pesiqtoth, Babylonian Talmud, etc.[75]

In light of the above analysis, the evolution of our passage in Midrash Tannaim becomes obvious. However, before applying the criteria deduced by Melamed to the Midrash Tannaim passage, we would point to some internal evidence, the formal structure of our passage, which indicates its composite character.

The exegesis of Deut. 14:2 ". . . the Lord your God chose you . . ." begins with the formula למה נאמר. The intent of this question which appears numerous times in tannaitic literature is not to imply that the verse is superfluous but rather that it teaches a special lesson — a lesson necessary because of a possible ambiguity or an erroneous implication in another verse.[76]

[75] *Ibid.* Melamed also compared a number of passages of the Sifra quoted in Midrash Haggadol with their version in the extant Sifra. He concludes that all the changes noted in the treatment of the material from Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai occur as well in the passages taken from the Sifra (pp. 56 ff.).

[76] On the formula למה נאמר see: I. H. Weiss, דור דור ודורשיו (Berlin 1924), vol. II, pp. 105 f. (particularly note 1, p. 106); D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, pp. 7 ff.; W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie etc.*, pp. 6 and 97; H. S. Horovitz, Sifre to Numbers, Introduction, p. xii; Ch. Albeck, *Untersuchungen über die halachischen Midraschim*, pp. 45 ff. (the most detailed treatment); J. N. Epstein, *Prolegomena, etc.*, p. 568 and his note in *Tarbiz*, vol. VIII (1936-7), p. 380. This exegetic formula is erroneously classified with למה נאמרה פרשה זו (Weiss, Hoffmann, Horovitz) or with א"כ למה נאמר (Bacher) or with מה אני צריך and מה תלמוד לומר (Albeck). An analysis of the form of the syllogisms which each of these phrases introduces indicates that these exegetic terms are not to be identified.

It is of interest, for purposes of stratification, that למה נאמר occurs very often as the introductory formula in expounding a biblical verse in Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el in the opening Tractate, Pisḥa (pp. 1–71), and from chap. 5 of Tractate Baḥodesh to the end of the Mekhilta (pp. 219 ff.). However, it is not used in Tractates Beshallaḥ, Shirah, Wayass'a and 'Amaleq (pp. 71–218). Similarly, it occurs in the first fifty-three chapters (once in 63) and in chapters 349 to the end of the Sifre to Deut. It does not occur in chaps. 54–348 (cf. Finkelstein's note to chaps. 234, p. 266, line 6 and 235, p. 268, line 5). It is used consistently throughout the Sifre to Num. The phrase is never used in Mekhilta deRabbi Shime'on b. Yoḥai (it occurs a few times in the sections taken from Midrash Haggadol but never in those portions based on manuscripts of the original Mekhilta'). Nor does this formula occur in the Sifra. (Albeck is to be corrected in light of the above.)

When a passage is introduced by the question למה נאמר, the exposition usually has the following form:

A. The citation of the verse.
B. The formula — למה נאמר
C. Citation of another biblical verse which is not inclusive enough or from which one may draw a wrong inference which needs to be corrected — usually introduced by לפי שנאמר or its equivalent.
D. The incorrect inference drawn from the second verse (Step C), introduced by אין לי, יכול or similar term.
E. The original verse which clarifies the matter and corrects the possible error, introduced by ת"ל.

Consider a typical example from the Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el to Exod. 20:7 (ed. Horovitz, p. 227, lines 15 ff.)

A. לא תשא את שם ה' . . . (שמות כ':ז')
B. למה נאמר
C. לפי שהוא אומר לא תשבעו בשמי לשקר (ויקרא י"ט:י"ב)
D. אין לי אלא שלא ישבע מנין שלא יקבל עליו להשבע
E. ת"ל לא תשא את שם ה' אלהיך (שמות כ':ז')

This type of exegetic syllogism occurs close to one hundred and fifty times in the tannaitic midrashim. In all of these instances, without a single exception, the second biblical verse cited (Step C) is from the Pentateuch, i. e., the verse that is being expounded (Step A) is interpreted to forestall a misunderstanding which may arise from another pentateuchal verse (Steps C and D). The confrontation is always between two pentateuchal verses.[77]

[77] Whenever the question למה נאמר is asked regarding the verse that is being expounded, the second verse (step C) is from the Pentateuch without exception. We have found one passage in Mekhilta deRabbi Yishm'a'el (Tractate Pisḥa, Bo, XVI, [ed. Horovitz], p. 58, lines 14 and 18), where the second verses (step C) are from Isaiah and Jeremiah and not from the Pentateuch. Note, however, that the verse being expounded in this passage is Exod. 13:2. The question addressed to this verse is למה נאמר and this question is followed by another pentateuchal verse (step C). The Mekhilta then continues with a series of examples from Lev. 6 and Exod. 25, introduced by the formula כיוצא בו אתה אומר. Following the question למה נאמר addressed to these two extraneous verses, the Mekhilta cites verses from the prophets. This latter part of the passage is no longer part of the exegesis of the original verse. Moreover, it is probable that the two cases introduced with כיוצא בו were brought into this Mekhilta passage from another context and belong to a later stratum. At any rate, there is no instance in which the verse in step C is from the Hagiographa. On the phrase כיוצא בו, see M. Friedmann (Ish Shalom) in his edition of the Mekhilta, p. 1, note 5, and Albeck, *op. cit.*, p. 140, note 2 and p. 142. Friedmann perceptively

In the Midrash Tannaim, however, the second biblical verse (Step C) is, contrary to every other instance, from Psalm (135:4) and not from the Five Books. The passage in Midrash Tannaim follows the form of every other argument of this type but the logic of the exegesis is destroyed by confronting Deut. 14:2 not with another pentateuchal verse, but with a verse from the Hagiographa. Such pleonastic exegesis, i. e., to explain a pentateuchal verse in the light of an ambiguity in a passage from the Kethuvim, never occurs in this type of syllogism in tannaitic literature.

The structure of the argument in Midrash Tannaim appears identical with every other syllogism of this type:

A. בך בחר ה' אלהיך (דברים י"ד:ב')
B. למה נאמר
C. לפי שהוא אומר, כי יעקב בחר לו יה (תהלים קל"ה:ד')
D. ואין אנו יודעים אם יה בחר ביעקב ואם יעקב בחר ביה
E. ת"ל בך בחר ה' (דברים י"ד:ב')

However, a closer analysis reveals that it is a later attempt to imitate the style and the formal structure of the Tannaim. The author gives himself away by overlooking the subtlety of the tannaitic exegesis and citing a verse from Psalms in step C rather than a pentateuchal verse.

Further evidence for the composite nature of the Midrash Tannaim passage may be found by analyzing the continuation of the argument. The question ומנ' שאבינו יעקב בחר במקום is not only atypical but completely illogical within this form of argument.[78] The series of examples introduced by כיוצא בו would, upon close examination of their sources and upon comparison with similar formulation in tannaitic midrashim, also show that they were collected from the Talmud and later midrashim.[79]

In the light of all of the above, both the internal evidence and our knowledge of the manner in which the author of Midrash Haggadol

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cautions that whenever a series introduced by כיוצא בו occurs, "one must investigate, in each case, whether the source is in this passage or whether it was copied from another source and later attached to this passage."

Of relevance to our analysis of the למה נאמר type syllogism is the talmudic principle דברי תורה מדברי קבלה לא ילפינן (Hagigah 10b, Bava Qama 2b, Nedarim 23a).

[78] The syllogism introduced by למה נאמר concludes with the citation of the original verse, the verse being expounded (step E). The fact that the passage in Midrash Tannaim continues with a further question ימנין שאבינו יעקב וגו' and cites yet another text (from Jeremiah) is in itself clear proof of the composite nature of this passage. On the formulation of the question as אבינו יעקב see notes 38 and 56 above.

[79] See the quotation from M. Friedmann in note 77, above.

changed his sources, it is clear that the Midrash Tannaim passage is a product of the Yemenite compiler of Midrash Haggadol. The Sifre to Deut. 14:2 cites Ps. 135:4. This Psalm verse recalled to the compiler of Midrash Haggadol the comment in Sifre Deut. 32:9. In order to weave the two passages together he had to recast the comment to Deut. 14:2 into a למה נאמר type syllogism. He then added a series of examples from the Babylonian Talmud and Midrashim. Beyond doubt, the passage in Midrash Tannaim is of no consequence in understanding Sifre Deut. 32:9.

AN INTRODUCTION TO *SEFER ḤASIDIM*

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Introduction

THE rise of Ḥasidism in the life of German Jewry has long been regarded as one of the major events in the religious history of that community. For many scholars it is indeed the only decisive development of major consequence in the spiritual life of German Jewry.[1]

This particular religious growth which bears the name *Ha-Ḥasiduth Ha-Ashkenazith*, German Pietism, evolved under the impact of the Crusades and their concomitant persecutions. In essence such newborn pietism represents a response to the methodical pattern of humiliation and degradation inflicted upon Jews during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it is a heightened and more intense form of religio-moral idealism and saintliness. Destined to write a glorious chapter in Jewish history, it arose first in the Rhenish Jewish communities. Its representatives were referred to by their contemporaries as *Ḥaside Ashkenaz*, The Devout of Germany.

The creative period of the movement was relatively short, the century from about 1150 to 1250, but its influence on German Jewry was lasting. The religious concepts and ideas to which it gave rise and filled with meaning through their own practice and conduct retained their vitality for centuries.[2] The protagonists of this heightened pietism were accepted and regarded as genuine representatives of an ideal Jewish way of life.

While it is true that the movement itself never achieved the proportions or dimensions of a mass movement, the teachings and leadership did enjoy wide popularity, authority, and prestige. It must, of course, be recognized that the very nature of the calling with its demanding and exacting teachings made it a vocation for the few rather than for the multitude. Nevertheless, it did not preclude the community at large from aspiring to inclusion in its select ranks and

[1] Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1946), p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.*

being numbered among its devotees. The simple fact that this movement exerted such a powerful influence over a short period of time and a lasting influence over succeeding centuries demonstrates and reveals the deep roots it struck in the heart, life, and mind of German Jewry.

The Man

Judah ben Samuel, the Pious of Regensburg (Ratisbon) who is regarded as one of the most prominent and influential of the *Ḥaside Ashkenaz*, the Devout of Germany, was born in Speyer[3] about the year 1140.[4] He died in Regensburg on February 22, 1217.[5] So long as Ḥasidism remained a living and vital force he held an almost unrivaled position of leadership. There can be no question that his own stature was enhanced by the fact that he was a descendant of one of the most illustrious families in Jewry, the Kalonymides. For many generations this family took a leading part in the development of Jewish learning in Germany.[6] Although originally from Lucca, Italy, the family migrated to many different regions in Europe. A branch of the Kolonymides settled in Speyer, Mayence, and Worms.

Judah the Pious' grandfather Kalonymus ben Isaac the Elder already lived in Speyer during the eleventh and twelfth century and established a reputation as rabbi and halakhist. His son Samuel the Pious, the father of Judah, added further to the lustre of the family name through his writings, scholarship, and personal piety.[7] It is,

[3] Abraham Epstein, *Collected Writings* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1950), I, 250, n. 10. A complete discussion is presented by the author concerning Judah's birthplace. The other ascribed birthplace, Worms, Epstein rejects. I. Elbogen, A. Freimann and R. Tykocinski in *Germania Judaica* (2d ed.; Breslau: Verlag M. and H. Marcus, 1934), p. 293, agree with Epstein in choosing Speyer as the birthplace. Interesting to note is Scholem's reference to Judah the Ḥasid of Worms (Scholem, p. 82).

[4] V. Aptowitzer, *Introduction to Sefer Rabiah* (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1938), p. 348, n. 20. The author presents convincing arguments in support of this rather than a later date. See also, J. Freimann in his introduction to *Sefer Ḥasidim*, Parma MS, Cod. de Rossi No. 1133, ed. Jacob Freimann and Jehuda Wistinetzki (2d. ed.; Frankfort: M. A. Wahrmann Verlag, 1924), p. 14. Future reference to this will be designated as *S. H.*, Parma MS.

[5] Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (8 vols.; 2d. ed. rev.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1958), VIII, 42 (*ca.*, 1140–1217); also Scholem, p. 82; Aptowitzer, p. 344; and Epstein, I, 150.

[6] Isaac Broyde, "Kalonymus," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer, VII (1904), 424a.

[7] Epstein, I, 251. The author provides a complete genealogical chart of Samuel's forbears and descendants (Epstein, I, 248). This would have stabilized matters had it not been challenged by Aptowitzer, p. 348.

however, unfortunate that most of his writings, which were considerable, have been lost.

Samuel the Pious, his son Judah, and the latter's disciple and relative Eleazar ben Judah of Worms may be regarded as the molders of German Ḥasidism.[8] The fact that scholarship still remains divided on the question of authorship for the opening sections of *Sefer Ḥasidim* between Judah, or his father Samuel, reveals the great similarity of ideology and teaching of these two men.[9] Judah the Pious and his brother, Abraham,[10] who was head of an academy in Speyer, were apparently pupils of their father Samuel and received their early instruction from him.[11]

Records indicate that Samuel the Pious was an outstanding Talmudic scholar for his time, in addition to being a pietist of distinction. He maintained an academy in Speyer, wrote commentaries and other works, and is quoted often by contemporary scholars.[12] As far as legend guides us, it seems that Abraham studied with his father Samuel in the conventional and customary setting of student-teacher relationship. Judah's introduction to study was apparently delayed for many years because of his interest in more worldly matters. When he finally began to study the moment of initiation reverberated with dramatic and prophetic effects,[13] pointing to the fact that Judah would soon overshadow his brother Abraham in mystical knowledge and achievement. After this, Judah applied himself diligently to study.

Later, Judah went to Regensburg,[14] established his dwelling there and was esteemed as one of the foremost scholars and teachers in

[8] Scholem, p. 82.

[9] Epstein, I, 260, ascribes the two chapters in *S. H.*, Parma MS, on "God-fearing" and "Repentance," sections 1 through 26, to Samuel He-Ḥasid.

[10] Epstein, I, 250; Aptowitzer, p. 344; and Freimann in his introduction to *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 3, have a rather strenuous go at the difficult problem of identifying Samuel the Pious' children. All three agree that he had two sons, one being Judah. They fail to agree on the identity of the other son. Aptowitzer further maintains that the person of Golda, usually described as Judah's sister, is in fact Judah's granddaughter.

[11] Epstein makes mention of the fact that the *Ma'aseh Book*, trans. Moses Gaster (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1934), II, 326, records the name of Eleazer, supposedly a twin brother of Abraham. However, he concludes quite plausibly and convincingly that the reference may be dismissed since it occurs just this one time and the source itself is not completely beyond question.

[12] Epstein, I, 252.

[13] *Ma'aseh Book*, II, 336.

[14] Aptowitzer, p. 346, challenges the date 1195 or 1196 as the time when Judah arrived in Regensburg. Contrary to Epstein and Freimann, he pushes it back prior to 1175.

that town. He wrote many mystical and ethical treatises, the best known being *Sefer Ḥasidim*.[15] He wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and books on legalistic matters. Few of these have survived. He was the teacher of Rabbi Eleazar, author of the *Rokeaḥ*, and his mentor in mysticism.

Rabbi Isaac Or Zarua was another of Judah's pupils. A correspondence was carried on between Rabbi Judah and many of the outstanding Franco-German scholars of the day. Rabbi Judah had three sons, Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Zalman, and Rabbi Moses.[16]

Numerous and illustrious teachers contributed to the personality and development of Rabbi Judah the Pious. Aside from the instruction which Rabbi Judah received from his father in traditional matters, he received his mystical initiation from him as well.[17] The meaning of the "Pyut" he learned from the martyred Rabbi Jom Tob the Holy.[18] He, in turn, influenced very many important rabbis, most especially Rabbi Eleazar b. Judah, called the "Rokeaḥ," Rabbi Baruch of Mayence, Rabbi Isaac Or Zarua. Judah the Pious was referred to by his contemporaries as the "Great Pietist," "Father of Wisdom," and the like.

Legends about Judah abound but their reliability is doubtful.[19] However, through them all there shines the unquestionable impressiveness of his piety and holiness. Tradition states, "If he had lived in the time of the prophets he would surely have been a prophet, if during the time of the Tanaaim a Tana, and in the time of the Amoraim an Amora."[20] His contribution to medieval Jewish mysticism is a matter still to be investigated and evaluated fully.

Part of the difficulty of such an investigation stems from the lack of authentic and reliable primary material dealing with the period. Though the life of Francis of Assisi, a contemporary with whom Judah has been compared,[21] is copiously commented upon by medieval writers, Judah's life remains a mystery and virtually unknown. In

[15] This point will be discussed at length further on in a special section.

[16] Here again the problem of identifying, let alone numbering, the descendants properly becomes quite difficult. A good deal of controversy among scholars persists. See Freimann's remarks in his introduction to *S. H.*, Parma MS, pp. 2–3; Aptowitzer, p. 344; and Epstein, I, 248.

[17] Freimann, *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 2.

[18] *Ibid.* The identification of this individual is quite difficult.

[19] See *Ma'aseh Book* for much of the anecdotal material and legend on the life of Judah and many other notable rabbis.

[20] *Germania Judaica*, p. 293.

[21] Baer, "Religious Social Tendency of the Sefer Ḥasidim," *Zion*, III (1938), 1–50, cited by Scholem, p. 83.

spite of the fact that we have *Sefer Ḥasidim* before us, there is still much we should like to know in detail about the man. Even if we presume to attribute authorship to him, which is no small matter, other information about his personal life, and his opinions on important matters are still not available to us.

Sefer Ḥasidim

Concerning the authorship of the book there is no complete agreement among scholars except on one point, namely, that the book is not the work of one writer but a composite of many writers.[22] This is proved by an internal examination which discloses frequent conflicting statements and sentiments. Some believe[23] that the book in its present form consists of three revisions of a text of which Judah is the original author.[24]

Moritz Gudemann is of the opinion that the task of assembling the material of *Sefer Ḥasidim* fell to the first and second generation of students and disciples of Judah the Pious, who had at their disposal their master's original. The place of composition, Gudemann feels, as do almost all other scholars, is in the Rhineland. S. A. Wertheimer agrees that the book is not the work of Judah the Pious alone. He is of the opinion that Judah's student Eleazar Rokeaḥ played a major role in collating the material and adding his own to it. The text then passed into the hands of students who continued to add and arrange the material in diverse ways.[25] Abraham Epstein attributes authorship of the basic and earliest text to Samuel the Pious, Judah's father, which Judah and his student Eleazar Rokeaḥ embellished.[26] There have been other writers who have attributed the book to other contemporaries of Judah the Pious, but such views have not been seriously received.[27]

Perhaps the most balanced and measured opinion on the question of authorship has been put forward by Fritz Baer in a view which is

[22] This, I would say, is the general consensus among scholars and most widely accepted opinion. See Freimann, *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 12.

[23] M. Gudemann, quoted by *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 357.

[24] Freimann, *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 10, gives a very succinct and useful presentation of the major points of view in this very dubious matter of authorship.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Epstein, I, 259.

[27] Graetz is one such case. He ascribes the book to R. Judah ben Isaac of Paris (b. 1166 –d. 1224) sometimes called Sir Leon. Graetz does this on the strength of the French expressions occurring in the text. See article on "Judah ben Samuel He-Ḥasid," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 357.

shared by most scholars. He says[28] that the teachings of *Sefer Ḥasidim* form a definite and consistent whole emanating from a specific school and reflecting the spirit of a dominating central figure, Rabbi Judah the Pious. The book itself may be regarded as a collection of ethical and religious precepts for the life of the community and the individual in Germany during the early thirteenth century. It is not an anonymous creation of successive generations; on the contrary, two or three generations of development are seen here, starting with a small group of scholars gathering themselves around a specific leading personality. This one dynamic personality sets the foundation for the *Torath Ḥasidim*, "Doctrine of the Ḥasidim," and for most of its conclusions. Baer feels that the tradition ascribing the book to Judah the Pious is quite correct in the sense that Judah stands in the center of the movement. The impact of his personality on his contemporaries may be considered from many points of view. There is hardly a category of thought or action which does not receive his comment. Perhaps it would be incorrect to ascribe all views found in the book to the man directly. But it would be fair to say, in the light of previous remarks, that they come as a consequence of the real and dominating position Judah the Pious enjoyed within the movement. Perhaps in view of the many difficulties that emerge when attempting to ascribe authorship to individuals, it would be more appropriate to refer authorship to a school of thought led by Judah the Pious. This sort of ascription, group or corporate, would of necessity imply in a single work the presence of diverse and often contradictory views. And such is the case here.[29] Nevertheless, contradictions notwithstanding, the book aspires to a higher unity, which is in essence the groundwork and message of the *Ḥaside Ashkenaz*. It represents their interpretation of "Pietism." Naturally, such interpretation embraces a good deal: their view of the reality around them, their interpretation of ritual observance, their conception of Jewishness, of the relationship of man to God, of sin, prayer, and whatever may fall under the rubric of theology and spirituality. Observations on magic, death, and immortality and comments on miscellaneous other subjects are also present in the work. It is this latitude in subject matter, together with the unadorned treatment, that gives the book its intrinsic value as a primary source for the movement which it represents and adorns.

The fact that it represents a departure from certain traditional rabbinic norms and categories of value accounts in part for the ambivalences and contradictions that frequently occur. The departure

[28] Baer, *Zion*, III, 1–50.

[29] Examples abound in which conflicting directives are put forward.

for new climes of opinion and feeling that characterize it, very often brings a reaction in the form of nostalgia for the older and more familiar traditional touchstones. Moreover, tradition itself, pervasive and all-penetrating as it is, very often makes us heirs of contrary and irreconcilable beliefs and views. The alternation between the old and new may therefore be viewed as being in fact less a matter of contradiction than of tension between two views for greater loyalty. Very often when deeper and more intensive probing occurs, we find that the yield of both views is complete agreement on a more sublime level of aspiration and intent. It is here that a convergence and unity involving religiosity and godliness is ultimately achieved.

In an article dealing with Jewish liturgy and its development, Dr. Judah Rosenthal brings to our attention the infusion into German Ḥasidism of a mystical element from former generations.[30] He traces the chain of continuity from Bagdad to Italy to the Rhineland, ultimately into the possession of Judah the Pious.

The Kolonymides, outstanding and preeminent in scholarship, served in fact as the preservers of this tradition, handing down the legacy of mysticism from father to son. Dr. Rosenthal makes further mention of the important influence that this mystical tradition exerted over the content of Jewish prayer composed by German pietists during this period. He further indicates the important influence that the pietists and the movement as a whole exerted on the entire Jewish community at that time, most especially through the "Rokeaḥ."

With these observations in mind, certain deductions become quite apparent. The mystical tradition, complex and devious as it is, possesses a higher unity which makes blood brothers of diverse elements and points of view. Once again, the lack of absolute unity and agreement on all religious dicta gives an added dimension of historicity to this movement which in fact did not resolve all of its own problems systematically. Our book leaves us, so to speak, in *medias res* not at the end of a movement but in its middle, which happens to be the most advanced stage that German pietism achieved.

The Pious

In defining the nature of "piety" and the "pious" we can do so from two points of view. One view is that of the masses as reflected in contemporary literature. The other, perhaps more important and to

[30] Judah Rosenthal, "L'Toldoth Ha-Siddur," reprint from *Hadoar* (Shebat 5707), p. 11. This article helps us to appreciate more fully the rich resource of the prayer for investigating the diverse elements in the spiritual development of Judaism.

which we will restrict ourselves, is the definition garnered from the book itself.[31] Here, broadly speaking, although a case could be made for additional and, if hard pressed, infinite subtleties and nuances, three main categories of behavior and attitude single out "the pious"; serenity of mind, altruism, and an ascetic renunciation of the things of this world.[32]

A more detailed enumeration of the component elements comprising these major rubrics would be as follows: indifference to offenses of all sorts,[33] doing deeds of kindness,[34] controlling the evil inclination in all its varied manifestations,[35] avoiding all idle and useless occupations and pastimes,[36] purity of intent and the doing of everything almost to extreme for the "sake of heaven."[37] Baer is quite right in saying[38] that all these manifestations of pietism were elicited by a demand embodied in a higher form of law, *Ius Divinum*, heavenly law. The pietist must at times veer from *Ius Positivum*, the demands of conventional law of halakha, in order to fulfill the dictates of "heavenly law."[39]

We find *Sefer Ḥasidim* describing the substance of pietism as the duty to act beyond the limit of the law.[40] That the law does not represent the ideal optimum of justice has its genesis in Talmudic literature.[41] We have statements in *Sefer Ḥasidim* to the effect that there may be things which the Torah permits and yet if a man practices them he will be brought to judgment because of them, for man must realize that the Torah permits them only because of the evil

[31] There is no complete unanimity on precisely who might be deemed a *ḥasid*. Very often terms other than *ḥasid* are used in a context designating piety. Often the attributes and qualities involved in piety are indicated without reference to an individual. It might be said, except in one instance of which I am aware, that the various scholars commenting and writing on this subject have used such excellent discretion and fair-mindedness in their handling of the references to "piety," *ḥasid*, etc., that the question of taking liberties with the meaning seldom arises. Needless to say, the temptation to give infinite elasticity and application to the term *ḥasid* so as to cover almost everything, is great.

[32] Scholem, p. 92. See also, Norman M. Bronznick, "Some Aspects of German Jewish Mysticism as Reflected in the Sefer Ḥasidim" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University, 1947), p. 8, for a discussion of these categories and their component elements.

[33] *Sefer Ḥasidim*, by Judah the Pious, ed. Mosad Harav Kook (Jerusalem: The Hebrew, 1957), secs. 7, 9, 10, 11. This version is generally referred to as the Bologna Edition. Future references will be designated as *S. H.*, Bologna Ed.

[34] *Ibid.*, secs. 7, 10, 11.

[35] *Ibid.*, secs. 7, 9, 10, 29.

[36] *Ibid.*, secs. 10, 29.

[37] *Ibid.*, secs. 9, 10, 12.

[38] Baer, *Zion*, III, 12.

[39] *S. H.*, Bologna Ed., sec. 44.

[40] *Ibid.*, sec. 11.

[41] See passages quoted in *S. H.*, Parma MS, sec. 975, p. 240, n. 1.

inclination.[42] Baer identifies this "heavenly law" which involves human relationships with natural human fairness and equity. Concerning relations between God and man this would provide a stricter interpretation and application of ritual and religious practices. This new line of action governed by good heart and conscience would naturally well up from the soul's assimilation of the divine spirit.

It is quite reasonable to assert that the distinctive element in "pietism" which gives it its most prominent characteristic is the striving to fulfill heavenly law, a demand which is additional, self-imposed by conscience and good heart, a law which is beyond the immediate claims of the traditional law or halakha.

Pietism and Asceticism

The ascetic strain found within the pietism of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* is touched upon by numerous authors. To my mind the subject has not really been given its proper perspective. Baer tries to show differences that exist between the ascetic proclivities of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* and that of non-Jewish asceticism. More, perhaps, should have been said about the similarities which are equally interesting but have received sparse comment. Dom Ursmer Berliere's remark concerning Christian mystics can very well apply to our own *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*; that in every mystic there is an ascetic and that asceticism is at the very source of mysticism.[43] This, of course, helps to explain some of the severe forms of penance and self-denial in *Sefer Ḥasidim*. Moreover, we find in *Sefer Ḥasidim* overtones and allusions to that triple mystical root which has been sketched for the Christian mystic, purgation, illumination, and union. This is not native to Christianity alone, but was then and is today, shared by many other religions. This can be accounted for by the simple fact that so many faiths drink from a common ideational source.[44]

The period with which we are dealing and which witnesses similar mystical activity in Jewish and non-Jewish camps can be attributed to a religious influence and atmosphere, then prevalent, which affected both equally.[45]

[42] *S. H.*, Bologna Ed., sec. 378, quotes statement from Kiddushin 21b.

[43] Berliere is quoted by Ray C. Petry, *Late Medieval Mysticism*, Vol. XIII of *The Library of Christian Classics*, ed. John Baillie and others (Philadelphia; Westminster Press, 1953 —), p. 19.

[44] Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1960), p. 167. This is found in Platonic and neo-Platonic thought. In view of the long history of Judaism something of this is therefore to be anticipated in the Jewish mystic.

[45] H. H. Ben-Sasson, *On Jewish History in the Middle Ages* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved

Baer's observation is quite true that the Jewish mystic-ascetic never goes beyond a certain point in self-denial because of legal prohibitions. However, this does not set him apart from the non-Jewish mystic-ascetic in their common striving and spiritual personality. In a manner of speaking, both Christian and Jewish mystics strive and achieve the extreme within their respective faiths that is permissible. It is only in comparison with each other that this "extreme" for the Jewish mystic appears foreshortened. The Jewish mystic goes to the extremity permitted by law as does the Christian; in the latter's case, however, the extent of self-denial permitted is far more generous. The foregoing observation does not indicate at all that the basic concept and mood of Christian and Jewish mystics differ. It is the law which directs and defines the mystical ascetic personality. The Jewish mystic might well be placed beside the Christian and made to appear similar in terms of a common mood, view and aspiration. It is the rule of law and tradition which sets them apart sending them into different areas of mystical preoccupation. In this respect Baer is quite right when he says that *Ḥaside Ashkenaz* did not and could not avoid involvement in the social scene and communal enterprise. The Christian mystical tradition with its greater latitude for escape and isolation could hold out to its contemplative mystics complete insulation from social contact and exposure. The "activists" however might well correspond in terms of their mobility and social exposure to a counterpart in Judaism, namely, the *Ḥaside Ashkenaz.*

There are many Christian mystics who espouse in their writings, if not in their personal conduct, the virtues of the "mixed life," a balance between contemplation and action, social responsibility and mystical experience, such as is found among Jewish pietists.[46] Men like Jan Rysbroeck,[47] Nicholas of Cusa, Meister Eckhart,[48] Bernard of Clairvaux, let alone St. Francis and a host of others of lesser standing immediately come to mind.[49] One could assent in behalf of the *Ḥaside*

Limited, 1958), p. 190. Briefly, the author touches upon parallels between the German pietists and the Franciscans and some of their common characteristics. Also see Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, VIII, 295, n. 54.

[46] Petry, *Late Medieval Mysticism*, p. 30: "In the balance of the contemplative and the active, there is in Augustine, as later in Gregory and Bernard, an incitement to Christian service and responsibility that inspired the whole of the Middle Ages."

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 319, quoting Rysbroeck in *The Sparkling Stone*, chapter xiv.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 207, quoting from *Love Can Not Be Lazy*, Meister Eckhart.

[49] Ray C. Petry, "Social Responsibility and the Late Medieval Mystics," *Church History*, Vol. XXI (1952). Here he develops the theme of balanced contemplation and action for many of the medieval mystics.

Ashkenaz with Ray C. Petry's observation that the call to renunciation echoes throughout the centuries of contemplation.[50] We might add in conclusion that Gershom Scholem and Baer have in their own way, made this very same observation.[51]

The Texts

In addition to the problem of authorship, there is the question which of the two editions of *Sefer Ḥasidim* is earlier. We have today two different versions of *Sefer Ḥasidim*: one based on the Bologna Edition,[52] most recently republished by the Mosad Harav Kook[53] in Israel. The other version is based on the Parma MS which was prepared and edited by Jehuda Wistinetzki and Jacob Freimann.[54]

In his introduction to *Sefer Ḥasidim*,[55] Freimann states that he believes the Parma MS to be the older. In support of his view he points out that the Parma MS lacks the unity, systemization, and relative freedom from corrupt and variant readings already in evidence in the Bologna edition.

For immediate purposes, without entering into a critical analysis of Freimann's views, it suffices for us to agree with Freimann's observations although not necessarily with his conclusions. The Bologna edition does possess the qualities which Freimann enumerates. It does indeed possess the inner unity, style and integration which the Parma MS lacks.[56]

As matters stand at present, weighty and cogent arguments can be advanced in support of either text as representing earlier authorship. Serious criticisms, as well, can be directed against each set of arguments. When we consider both positions in this light one conclusion remains, namely, that neither view dare be dogmatic or absolute in its assertions.

[50] Petry, *Late Medieval Mysticism*, p. 18.

[51] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 91; Baer, *Zion*, III, 27.

[52] First published in Bologna in 1538 by Abraham the son of Moses the Priest. Apparently published without censorship. See Freimann's introduction to *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 9.

[53] A publishing house in Israel specializing in Hebraica and Judaica texts.

[54] Published by the Mekize Nirdamim Society during the years 1891 to 1893 based on MSS attributed to the thirteenth century. See Freimann's introduction to *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 9.

[55] Freimann's introduction to *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 19. See also Epstein, I, 258, n. 24, wherein he agrees with Freimann and offers additional evidence.

[56] Freimann's introduction to *S. H.*, Parma MS, p. 19.

REFLECTIONS ON THE TEXT AND CONTEXT OF THE DISPUTATION OF BARCELONA

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SEVEN centuries have elapsed since Moses ben Naḥman and Paul Christian[1] battled, like doughty knights, before King James I of Aragon in their verbal joust at Barcelona, and one since serious scholarship has lent the affair a measure of its interest. Jewish historians have acknowledged its important role in the annals of their past and have grouped it with the so-called Disputation of Paris and the more correctly styled Disputation of Tortosa in a sort of trinity of troubles to dramatize the problems of the Jew in an alien mediaeval world.[2]

Yet despite the passage of time and the display of scholarly interest, we still do not know the real significance of the debate. Adequate answers have not been proffered for the most basic questions that can be posed about it. Who was responsible for calling the debate? How was its agenda determined? What strategy of attack and defense did the antagonists employ? Who won the debate? How was the disputation related to the subsequent anti-Jewish legislation which emerged from the royal palace? What was the purpose of the debate? Why did Naḥmanides publish his record of the disputation nearly two years after it was held? Was this publication responsible for his emigrating from his native Gerona and seeking the solace of the Holy Land for the remaining days of his life?

These questions tantalize us with their possibilities, but frustrate us because they must be answered, and there are too few documents to help. Time has niggardly spared us only fragments of the pertinent events. These include two accounts of the proceedings, Naḥmanides'

[1] He is most frequently called Pablo Christiani, though his name was probably Pau (Naḥmanides called him Pol) Christiá. See C. Roth, "The Disputation of Barcelona (1263)," *Harvard Theological Review* XLIII (1950), p. 118.

[2] The best studies of the debate are those of F. Baer, לבקורת הוויכוחים של ר' יחיאל מפאריש וישל ר' משה בן נחמן, *Tarbiz* II (1931), pp. 172–87; C. Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–44, and O. S. Rankin, "Introduction to the Debate between Nachman and Fra Paulo," in his *Jewish Religious Polemic* (Edinburgh, 1956), pp. 157–76. Roth gives an excellent paraphrase of Naḥmanides' account and Rankin a clear and on the whole accurate translation. See also I. Loeb "La controverse de 1263 à Barcelone," *Revue des études juives* XV (1887), pp. 1–18.

version[3] and a Latin protocol explaining the debate from the viewpoint of the Church,[4] a handful of royal decrees compromising the position of the Jews of Aragon after the disputation, and an even lesser number of documents resulting from the publication of Naḥmanides' booklet two years later.[5] The paucity of official papers disappoints the scholar, but not nearly as much as the inadequacy of the two extant accounts of the debate. The Latin protocol merely summarizes its salient events in the terse, cold language of officialism. It states the questions considered, abstracts some of the discussion, woefully omits what does not suit its purposes, and grudgingly includes colorful tidbits whose notoriety overcame its reluctance to record them. By comparison, Naḥmanides' account inundates the reader with its torrent of details and the celerity of its motion. It enables the reader to relive the debate, to capture the excitement of the palace where three of its four sessions were held, and to pulsate with foreboding in the atmosphere of the monastery which provided the scene for the second day's meeting.[6] The mounting tension, the searing hatreds, the cant and conniving that inevitably accompany such public displays, project vividly through its pages. The only danger which besets the reader of Naḥmanides' account is that the dazzling realism of his narrative, contrasted with the pall and laconism

[3] Published by J. C. Wagenseil in *Tela Ignea Satanae* (Altdorf, 1681), II, pp. 24–60 and reprinted in מלחמת חובר (Constantinople, 1710). Published from a better manuscript by M. Steinschneider (Stettin-Berlin, 1860), and reprinted by R. Margoliouth (Lemberg, 192?), and J. D. Eisenstein in his אוצר וכוחים (New York, 1928), pp. 86–94. The Steinschneider edition, by far the best, was used for this study, and is referred to as *Vikuaḥ*.

[4] Published by J. Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, XIII (Madrid, 1850), pp. 332–35; C. Girbal, *Los judíos de Gerona* (Gerona, 1870), pp. 66–68 and by F. Baer, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–87. The Baer edition is the best and was used for this study.

[5] Published by H. Denifle, "Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Moses Nachmani zu Barcelona 1263," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Gorres-Gesellschaft*, VIII (1887), pp. 239–44. Cf. Loeb's summary, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–18 and that of J. Regné, "Catalogue des actes de Jaime Ier, Pedro III et Alfonso III rois d'Aragon concernant les Juifs 1213–1291," *Revue des études juives* LXI (1911), pp. 19 f.

[6] The dates of the sessions of the debate were Friday, July 20; Monday, July 23; Thursday, July 26 and Friday, July 27, as Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–22, n. 9, correctly states. See J. J. Bond, *Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era* (London, 1889), pp. 55, 27 f., 40, 100, to determine these dates. Because some texts raise a question as to the days of the week when various sessions took place, the above dates are subject to adjustment, but the dating of Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 5, is incorrect. The language of the debate was probably Catalan. See M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica* (Strassburg, 1890), Introduction, p. ix.

of the Christian version, will blind him to its numerous shortcomings, and impede him from using this text cautiously in reconstructing the torrid events of that far-off July.

A second perusal of Naḥmanides' booklet will not tarnish the appreciation of its beauty, but will expose these flaws. The reader will recognize, despite Naḥmanides' insistence on having written an account of all the discussions, that his text gainsays such completeness. It is too brief to be a full record of four days' proceedings, too detailed at times to be a summary, too desultory to reflect a sense of continuity, too discursive to reveal a logical sequence, too partisan to be accepted uncritically. Its unevenness betrays it: it treats the events of the first two days with a fulness of data, but the last two with a frustrating, almost an incriminating meagerness of detail. Naḥmanides had no stenographer to record the process of the debate; in fact, he was in all probability prohibited from committing any part of the discussions to writing.[7] By the time he did so, late in 1264 or early in 1265,[8] the usual erosions by time and passion had worked their distortion on his memory.[9] What therefore issued from Naḥmanides' pen was a candid reproduction of events as he then recalled them, but not necessarily as they had been.

By comparison, the Latin protocol was written not as Paul's personal observations, but as the authoritative record of the churchmen. It bears all the marks of early composition, though it could hardly be expected to have been drastically different if the composition were late.[10] It does not suffer from the hiatuses and inconsistencies found in Naḥmanides' account, but then again it does not deal with details or yield as much information.

In such a predicament, any attempt to compare the accounts for the purpose of determining the superiority of one or the other is gratuitous. Yet scholars have indulged in such superfluities ever since Graetz in his Carlylian fashion exalted Naḥmanides' role in the dispu-

[7] See below, pp. 187 ff.

[8] The document dated April 12, 1265, is the earliest reference we have to a written account of the disputation by Naḥmanides. See below, pp. 187 ff.

[9] Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 9, admits the inexactness of Naḥmanides' text but minimizes it.

[10] Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 7, disbelieves the date of July 20, 1263, under which the Latin protocol was written, because some of the events it mentions occurred later. He infers that the account may not have been written until the fracas over Naḥmanides' version two years later. Loeb is totally unjustified in both assertions. The date on the document need not have been that of composition. In official registers it is not uncommon to list events by the first date on which they occurred, and the Latin protocol was an official document. The attempt to relate it to the events of 1265 has no evidence to support it.

tation at Paul's expense,[11] or at least since Father Heinrich Denifle, incensed at Graetz's picture, took up the cudgels on behalf of the Christian protagonist and intemperately branded Naḥmanides' account as a lie.[12] Since Denifle's time scholars, Jewish and Christian, have seemed to prefer the meatier Jewish text, and with either a slap at the Christian text, or a deferent disregard for its contents, have proceeded to rely on Naḥmanides for their reconstruction of the proceedings. The acceptance of the Jewish text has generally been accompanied by the invention of a Jewish context to supply necessary details lacking in the account. Naḥmanides is therefore pictured as strutting into the theological lists inspired by zeal to defend his faith and people, demanding freedom of speech and insisting upon a fair agenda, and proceeding to discomfit his opponent repeatedly with the superiority of his knowledge and dialectic. So successful is he that many Christians, obviously provoked by the humiliation of their hero, but claiming that the continuation of the debate will only result in dire consequences for the Jews, convince Naḥmanides to attempt to stop it prematurely. The king refuses his request, and Naḥmanides has no choice but to proceed to victory.[13]

This picture idealizes, or more correctly, caricatures the scholar who participated in the debate, and what is worse, disregards a multitude of conflicting details. It is another example of the inevitable result of the attempt to raise partisanship to the level of objectivity. Interestingly, it finds a compensatory obverse in the story of the disputation recorded in a well-known Spanish encyclopedia, where it is related that the Jewish protagonist lost the debate, converted to Christianity and became a successful missionary among his former coreligionists.[14]

In any such problem what is required is a disinterested approach to the text, and an interested quest for a realistic context. The effort to reconstruct the reality of the Disputation of Barcelona from the sparse relics in our possession demands a recognition of the inadequacy of both texts and therefore, *faute de mieux* and no evidence to the contrary withstanding, the utilization of both with caution and without prejudice. With such an approach enough details can be discovered to

[11] H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig (Oskar Leiner), n.d. (1900 ?), pp. 120 f.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 229. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 119, has recognized before me the futility of attempts to champion one or the other account.

[13] See, for example, J. Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (New York, 1932), pp. 176–77.

[14] In *Encyclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, VIII (Madrid, 1923), p. 1582. The author's name is not given.

breathe a measure of consistency into the literary remains of the debate, and while consistency cannot be equated with reality as it was or is, it is about as close as the historian can hope to come.

The Texts of the Disputation

The texts of the disputation point to one inescapable conclusion, that the debate was not an open discussion, but rather a demonstration of Christian intellectual superiority contrived in advance. Its antagonists were carefully chosen, its agenda determined, its direction planned and its conclusion foreseen before the first step was taken to translate the idea of a disputation into a reality.

The two antagonists were leaders of their respective faiths. Paul, who had been born a Jew, possibly at Montpellier, and had acquired more than a modicum of the traditional talmudic education under the guidance of Rabbi Eliezer of Tarascon,[15] was now a Christian monk. He was a member of the recently established but already potent Dominican order, which prided itself on being the intellectual arm of the Church. The strong shield of knowledge and the blade of keen argument were the weapons with which it so often battled against heresies from within and the conflicting monotheisms of Islam and Judaism from without.[16] Paul was an asset to its ranks. His background qualified him to become a missionary among the Jews, and he quickly acquired renown in the communities of Provence for his sermons to his former coreligionists, in which he sought to demonstrate that not only the Bible but the literature of the rabbis as well, assented to the verity of the cardinal principles of the Christian faith.[17] Recently, possibly since 1258, when Aragon had renounced her interests in Provence, Brother Paul had concentrated his activities in Catalonia and Aragon. In his projects and peregrinations he could hardly have

[15] See E. Renan, "Les rabbins français du commencement du quatorzième siècle," *Histoire littéraire de la France* XXVII (Paris, 1877), pp. 562–69; H. Gross, *Gallia Judaica* (Paris, 1897), pp. 4–6, and S. Luce, "Catalogue des documents du trésor de Chartres relatifs aux Juifs sous le règne de Philippe le Bel," *Revue des études juives* II (1881), p. 21. Luce traces Paul to a family in Narbonne involved in the manufacture of cloth. On Paul's reputation among Christians for his Hebrew learning, see J. Quétif and J. Ekhard, *Scriptures Ordinis Predicatorum* I (Paris, 1719), p. 246: "F. Paulus Christiani . . . vir Hebraice Rabbiniceque ut ita loquat in primis peritus."

[16] On the development of the Dominican Order, see P. Mandonnet, "Preachers, Order of," *Catholic Encyclopedia* XII (New York, 1913), pp. 354–70, and *idem*, *Saint Dominique* (Paris, 1938), 2 vols.

[17] *Vikuah*, p. 5, lines 30 f. Rankin's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 179) of בפרבינצה by "in the province" is both awkward and incorrect.

failed to brush against many a learned Jew, and test the soundness of his arguments against rabbinic knowledge deeper than his own.

It is likely that on one such occasion or more he had met head on with the foremost scholar among the Jews in Spain, Moses ben Naḥman, the *maestre* or head of the wealthy, intellectual and influential community of Gerona.[18] Naḥmanides, almost a septuagenarian, basked in the prestige of nearly a half century of achievement, not only as a scholar and creative interpreter of the tradition of Judaism, but also as a diplomat who had tactfully mediated in the controversies between the Maimunists and anti-Maimunists, and, indubitably as well, as a loyal servant of the crown.[19]

Who brought Paul Christian and Moses Naḥmanides together in Barcelona? Some say that Paul started it all, that his conversionist activities had met with disaster, and that in desperation he called for the debate, hoping that with a victory he might reingratiate himself with his Dominican superiors and effect large-scale conversions of the Jews.[20] One version of this interesting explanation claims that Paul insisted on battling with Naḥmanides, for he was the recognized head of the Jewish community,[21] but another states that Naḥmanides was chosen by the Jews to be their champion, to the consternation of the former Jew called Christian.[22] Both versions concur that Naḥmanides agreed to participate in the debate, but neither stops to raise the question as to why a Jew of his stature should be willing to involve himself in such a nefarious enterprise, which boded no good for his people.

In reality these explanations are factitious, constructed on no evidence whatever. Neither the Jewish nor the Christian account of the disputation credits Paul with instigating the debate. The only information on its genesis derives from the Christian text, composed by Paul's fellow Dominicans. This protocol clearly states, that the king called for the debate at the urging of the Dominicans (*ad instantiam fratrum predicatorum*). Heinrich Graetz, who imagined the

[18] See S. Schechter, "Naḥmanides," *Studies in Judaism* I (Philadelphia, 1896), pp. 103 f.; Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Biographies of Naḥmanides have been written by H. Chone (*Nurnberg*, 1930); I. Unna (Jerusalem, 1942), and C. Chavel (New York, 1960).

[19] The story found in Yosef b. Tsaddik de Arevalo (in A. Neubauer, *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, I, [Oxford, 1887], p. 95) to the effect that King James received instruction from Naḥmanides, though accepted by A. Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, (Princeton, 1954), is apocryphal. See F. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 408, n. 36a.

[20] See bibliography in n. 15 above and also Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.

[21] Schechter, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 f.

[22] A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 245.

Dominican magnate, Raymond of Penyafort, to have been responsible for the convocation at Barcelona, came closer to the evidence than many a subsequent scholar.[23] Raymond of Penyafort had been Master General of the Dominican order from 1228 to 1230, but left this post to devote himself to canon law, where he was the unsurpassed master, and to the promulgation of his faith among the infidel Jews and Saracens.[24] The presence and participation of Brother Raymond and other leading churchmen, such as Arnold of Segarre, prior of the Preachers of Barcelona, and Peter of Genoa, a leading Franciscan who must be identified with the distinguished Bishop of Valencia mentioned in the Chronicle of King James I of Aragon,[25] seem to attest to their official involvement in the debate. While it is possible that Brother Paul conceived the idea of the disputation, it appears clearly that it was presented to the king as the official recommendation of the Dominican order.

Both texts agree on the manner of Naḥmanides' involvement. Neither says a word about his election as the representative of the Jews, neither about an invitation from Paul or the Dominicans or the king. On the contrary, both concur in stating that Naḥmanides was ordered to represent the Jews at Barcelona. Even before Naḥmanides says צוה אותי אדוננו המלך להתוכח עם פראי פול בהיכלו, he alludes to his dilemma in his introductory apologia. Obviously thinking of himself, he cites the case of the talmudic worthies who were compelled to debate with the disciples of Jesus and to answer the inane questions they posed, because these worthies were close to the ruling powers of the Christian society in which they lived. Though overlooked by scholars, this introduction agrees with all other details at our disposal that the Dominicans initiated the debate, selected their own spokesman, and, perhaps with the king's help, the spokesman for the opposition as well.[26]

The Dominicans' control is even more clearly seen in the determination of the agenda for the disputation. Fortunately the two texts are in essential agreement on the subjects of the debate. The adversaries agreed to discuss first, whether the Messiah had come, as the Christians believed, or not, as the Jews insisted. Then they promised to turn to the question of the nature of the Messiah: was he God or man or both

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 120. Cf. Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 162, and Wagenseil, *op. cit.*, p. 2, quoting Bishop Francis Bosquet's introduction to Raymond Martin's *Pugio Fidei*.

[24] See F. Valls Taberner, *San Ramón de Penyafort* (Barcelona, 1936), Ch. XIII "Las controversias cristiano-rabínicas en el siglo XIII," pp. 131–39.

[25] See *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, translated by J. Foster and edited by P. de Gayangos (London, 1883), p. 627.

[26] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 5.

simultaneously? According to the Dominican account, the disputants would then proceed to consider the question of whether the Messiah suffered and died for the human race. Naḥmanides omits this question from his agenda, though his text gives three indications that the topic was broached during the disputation. That he should have suppressed it is understandable, since the mere consideration of this point implied an assent to Christian doctrine that Jesus was the Messiah. Finally the knights of God would conclude with a discussion on whether Judaism or Christianity represented the true faith. At least so says Naḥmanides. The Dominicans report that the debaters would decide whether Jewish law and ceremonial were still valid, which is to say the same thing with a Christian bias.[27]

On the surface the agenda appears to favor the Jews. Naḥmanides informs us that he had obtained from the king the right to speak freely in the debate, and it is assumed that he exercised this right in the determination of the questions to be discussed.[28] Only the cardinal principles of Christianity were placed on the agenda, and the burden of proof appeared to fall squarely on Paul's shoulders. Even the progression of the questions seemed to favor Naḥmanides, for should he succeed in refuting one, the rest would be stripped of their meaning and victory would be his. And if Paul tried to buttress his case with statements from the rabbis, Naḥmanides' unquestioned superiority in this area could be expected to foil his every thrust. Naḥmanides' position could not have been stronger. With the weight of his knowledge and the apparent advantage of the agenda, nothing less than a lightning victory should have ensued.

Why it did not come about is a question that merits consideration. But logically prior to this question is another one. Why did Paul allow Naḥmanides to cozen him into an unfavorable agenda? Certainly he had no need to fear that Naḥmanides might retreat from the debate unless the agenda satisfied him. Naḥmanides had been commanded to debate. Why then was Naḥmanides permitted such freedom and power?

The truth is that he was permitted neither. Whatever the purpose of Paul and the Dominicans might have been in calling the debate, they had no intention of compromising their position and they were far too shrewd to fall into a trap. The account of the fixing of the agenda, found in the Latin protocol, provides the beginning of an understanding of what really happened.

[27] Cf. Baer, . . . לבקורת, p. 183.

[28] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 5, lines 14 ff.; Graetz, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Regné, *op. cit.*, *Revue des études juives* LX (1910), p. 199.

The Christian account informs us that the aim of the disputation was not to impugn the truths of Christianity, "which because of its certainty cannot be subjected to debate" (*que propter sui certitudinem non est in disputatione ponenda*). Rather, it was to destroy the errors of the Jews (!), and to undermine the confidence of those who believed that the Jewish spokesmen could confute any and all arguments on behalf of Christianity. When the agenda of the debate is regarded in this light, it becomes obvious that the Dominicans intended, not to defend their faith, but to prove its validity step by step to the Jews, moving with inductive logic from the simple fact of the Messiah's coming to the ineluctable conclusion regarding Judaism's obsolescence and its replacement by Christianity as the one true faith.

This should not be at all surprising; the method was a hackneyed one. It was the method of scholastic writing, teaching and discussion, and the Dominicans excelled in all.[29] The Dominicans were primarily teachers. Three years before Barcelona, Humbert of Romains, the Master General of the order, could proudly proclaim: "We teach the people, we teach the prelates, we teach the wise and unwise, religious and seculars, clerics and laymen, nobles and peasants, lowly and great."[30] He might have broadened his remarks to include Moslems and Jews as well. Since 1259, a Dominican institute for the study of Arabic had been flourishing in Barcelona and graduating competent missionaries; and though the first such college for Hebrew studies was not formally opened until 1310,[31] the Dominicans zealously studied Hebrew and rabbinic literature and gloried in the publication in 1278 of the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin (Martí), who, like Paul Christian, sought to prove the verity of Christianity from the statements of the rabbis themselves.[32] The Dominicans were thus always prepared to debate with learned men of all persuasions whom they regarded as misinformed, or inadequately informed, and therefore in need of instruction. Paul so regarded his opponent. And since the Dominicans utilized the device of public discussions as part of the curriculum of their conventual schools,[33] Paul had every right to consider his activity in Barcelona as a kind of extension course.

A careful study of Naḥmanides' account supports this contention.

[29] See A. Little, "The Mendicant Orders," in *The Cambridge Medieval History* VI (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 741 ff.

[30] Quoted by Mandonnet, "Preachers," p. 360a.

[31] Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, I, p. 195.

[32] Wagenseil, *op. cit.*, p. 2, again quoting Bosquet, informs us that Raymond of Penyafort had such institutes before 1310 and seems to imply that Raymond Martin and Paul Christian studied in such classes.

[33] Mandonnet, "Preachers," pp. 360–61.

According to Naḥmanides, he had agreed to debate only cardinal issues involving the two religions, but as early as the second day of the debate, Naḥmanides complained about the discussion of the Messiah, which he contended was not central to Judaism.[34] Much more important is the fact that at no time during the debate was Naḥmanides permitted to take the offensive by asking questions or opening discussion on a topic. When he asked permission to be the questioner in one session, the king peremptorily refused him.[35] From the beginning to the end of the debate, Brother Paul was at the helm. He confidently posed questions, intrepidly challenged answers, and exuded a self-assurance which Naḥmanides makes no effort to hide in his account. Paul could well afford this position, because the king supported him in everything he said. He repeatedly interrupted and silenced Naḥmanides' objections,[36] and compelled him to proceed to the discussion of new items before prior questions had been proved to his satisfaction.[37] Despite the imperfection and disorder of Naḥmanides' account, it appears that Paul and the king had agreed to drive home a lesson, and not to be deterred by the cogency of their opponent's remarks.

We need not doubt that Naḥmanides enjoyed freedom of speech. Without it the disputation could have lost its drama and Paul the opportunity of displaying his rabbinic knowledge ingeniously and effectively. But this freedom was bestowed after Paul presented Naḥmanides with the agenda of the debate. Naḥmanides claims that he agreed to the agenda,[38] but if he did, it was because he had no other choice.

The Dominicans, it must be remembered, were not reputed to be poor planners. They had conceived the debate. They had prepared their best men for participation. They had induced the king to join them in the elaborate plans and obviously considerable expenditures required for its staging, and to invest in it time and energy which ostensibly could better be used in more pressing pursuits. They could hardly have viewed the affair as an intellectual exercise or a diversion, but even if they had, they would have had to guard against the shame of defeat and the bane of its certain embarrassment.[39] Their arrangement of the debate, their formulation of the agenda, and their control of the discussion, leave no doubt that they wanted to insure the triumph of their protagonist.

[34] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 12, lines 1 ff. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 17, line 29.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 9 (lines 27 ff.); 11 (lines 6 ff.); 13 (lines 11 ff.); 17 (line 29); 18 (lines 9, 25).

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 18, lines 1 ff. [38] *Ibid.*, p. 5, line 23.

[39] Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 121, seems to view the disputation as an intellectual exercise. He has the support of most writers on the subject.

Naturally both the Jewish and the Christian texts claim victory in the debate. The Latin account concludes by saying of Naḥmanides, "*Unde patet, quod non audet nec potest suam erroneam credenciam defensare*" (Wherefore it is clear that he dares not, and cannot, defend his erroneous belief). On the other hand, Naḥmanides relates that at the conclusion of the final session, the king, though as firm in his Christianity as ever, could not help but express admiration for the Geronese Jew's mastery by exclaiming, "Never have I seen a man in the wrong plead his case as excellently as you have."[40] A week later, Naḥmanides goes on to tell us, as he was preparing to return to Gerona, the king dismissed him amicably and regaled him with a purse of three hundred gold pieces (*sueldos?*), presumably to defray his expenses.[41] These amenities, however, do not becloud the essential fact that Naḥmanides left Barcelona as he had entered, vanquished. If we are to appreciate the contents of the debate and the events which followed it, we have no alternative but to credit Brother Paul with a predetermined victory over a hopelessly handicapped opponent.

A careful scrutiny of the arguments of the debate, as Naḥmanides records them, will substantiate this view. Scholars may delight in turning Paul into a straw man, who entered the lists unprepared and incompetent and spent four days absorbing withering blows from a Jew, but the picture the texts paint is quite different. They reveal that Paul had prepared a powerful offensive, which, with the occasional assist of the judges, could not be stopped, much less turned into a rout.

Paul's attack was based upon his often tested contention that the Jewish tradition, particularly the writings of the rabbis, gave evidence that the Messiah or Christ had come, that he possessed a theanthropic nature, and that he had suffered and died for men's sins. Though such claims may have met with disbelief on the part of Jews, they were not chimeras in Paul's mind. He knew rabbinic literature well, and realized that within that literature there were texts to support every point he would make. There were, to be sure, as many texts to contradict him, but with these he was not concerned. After all, had not the rabbis always cited only those texts which sustained their views and ignored all others?

Paul foresaw only one obstacle. While rabbinic literature buttressed his claims regarding the Messiah or the Christ, it naturally did not equate the Christ with Jesus. Paul therefore decided upon an extraordinary stratagem. He determined not to discuss Jesus at all, and to

[40] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 21, line 15.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 22, lines 23 ff.

make his points only about the Messiah in general. If he could prove that according to Jewish texts the Messiah had come and gone, it would follow that the Jewish expectation of the Messiah in the future was vain and that Christianity was therefore superior. In this way Paul would also spare himself the burden of defending the Messianic role of Jesus.

Naḥmanides immediately sensed the danger in Paul's opening gambit, and on the very first day of the debate, he tried to inveigle his opponent into an identification of Jesus with the Messiah, but Master Giles, the king's justiciary, came to Paul's rescue. "Right now," he warned Naḥmanides, "we are not discussing Jesus. The question rather is whether the Messiah has come."[42] In the succeeding days of the debate, Naḥmanides, at every opportunity, insisted desperately that Jesus was not and could not have been the Messiah whom they were discussing, but his words fell on deaf ears. When he later wrote his recollections of the debate, he put the name of Jesus in Paul's mouth in several instances where it would hardly have been prudent for Paul to mention Jesus,[43] and in one case he even makes Paul translate by "Jesus" the word "Messiah" which appears in a biblical verse.[44] That Paul avoided the equation of the Messiah with Jesus, except perhaps in his obiter dicta, is evident from the examples he uses, from the entire course of his argument and even from the Christian account of the proceedings. The Latin document mentions the name of Jesus only twice, both conjoined to the word Christ, both in quotations from Naḥmanides, and both representing attempts by the sage from Gerona to discredit the reputed Messianic role of Jesus.

Nor was Paul's decision to rely on rabbinic literature an unstudied move. He knew that the legal writings of the rabbis, the Halakhah, could not support him, for it did not deal with the questions he was eager to discuss. He had to rely on the homilies, the legends and the traditional tales that constitute the 'Aggadah, and he knew that the 'Aggadah did not carry the same weight as the Halakhah, that there was no obligation to believe it and that in many circles it was not believed. However, he recognized one salient fact that scholars have often overlooked, namely, that the 'Aggadah provided the foundation for much of the theology and theosophy of the Jews of Spain and France in the thirteenth century and that among the scholars who treasured and believed and leaned heavily upon the 'Aggadah was none other than Naḥmanides himself.

A mere thirty years before the Disputation of Barcelona the

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 8, lines 22 ff.
[43] *Ibid., passim.*
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 14, lines 12–13.

Maimunists and anti-Maimunists bitterly fought over the role which the 'Aggadah should play in Judaism. The Maimunist rationalists declaimed against the naive expressions and tales in the 'Aggadah, cautioned Jews against believing them literally and attempted to allegorize them into respectability.[45] Their opponents quickly accused them of breaking away from the traditions of Judaism, and their leaders, men like Solomon of Montpellier and Jonah of Gerona, the latter a first cousin of Naḥmanides, continued to hold firmly to a literal belief in all their traditional texts, even those which depicted the Deity with the grossest of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms.[46] Naḥmanides too entered the fray, not as a headstrong litigant, but as a composed mediator, seeking to avert a painful breach in the house of Israel; but where his sympathies lay was never in doubt.[47] He belonged to the camp of the fundamentalists, to those who condemned "anyone expounding the words of our rabbis and their 'Aggadahs not according to Rashi's words."[48] And even if he be credited with refusing at times to succumb to their extreme literalness, or even with protesting against their uncritical application of matter and form to God, his works clearly reveal that he was not above doing the same thing.

Naḥmanides, it might be recalled, was the champion of the cause of Kabbalah in Gerona.[49] Early in the thirteenth century this city had bred an intense and intelligent group of mystics, who pursued their esoteric speculations as if in defiance of Maimonidean rationalism. Men like Ezra and Azriel and their renowned pupil, Naḥmanides,

[45] On this controversy see J. Sarachek, *Faith and Reason: The Conflict over the Rationalism of Maimonides* (Williamsport, 1935).

[46] See A. Maimonides מלחמות השם, ed. R. Margolis (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 60 f., and especially his statement ואותם המדרשות וההגדות אם נקח אותם על פשטם נכפור בעיקר כאלו המקולקלים באמונתם.

[47] See J. Guttmann הפילוסופיה של היהדות (Jerusalem, 1951), p. 171. Cf. Graetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 375 ff. An excellent reconstruction of the order of the letters sent in this controversy has been made by E. E. Urbach חלקם של חכמי אשכנז וצרפת בפולמוס על הרמב"ם ועל ספריו (*Zion* XII 1947), pp. 149–59.

[48] From a latter of R. Samuel b. Abraham Saporta, quoted by Geiger, אוצר נחמד II (Vienna, 1857), p. 170. Naḥmanides called the Tosafists "the teachers and masters who reveal to us all hidden matters." See S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, VI (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 56. See also Saracheck, *Doctrine of the Messiah*, p. 190: "His (Naḥmanides') entire theology was materialistic and represented a system of thought which Maimonides tried to combat in his Guide and the theological parts of the Mishneh Torah."

[49] G. Scholem, ראשיה הקבלה *1250–1150* (Tel Aviv, 1948), pp. 146 ff. See also S. A. Horodezky, המכתורין בישראל II (Tel Aviv, 1952), p. 405, quoting the Ribash regarding Naḥmanides' role as a kabbalist: ניני ועוקר הרים . . . ועליו סומכים בכל גלילות קטלניה כמשה מפי הגבורה.

joined others in tapping the universe for answers to life with the devices of mysticism, precisely as their opponents were doing with the tools of philosophy. And both groups produced doctrines too dangerous to publicize![50] While the Maimonideans' troubles stemmed from their excessive reliance upon metaphysics, the problem of the mystics lay in their exaggeration and imaginative extensions of the literal meaning of the 'Aggadah to the point where they were actually measuring the physical attributes of their Maker![51] The 'Aggadah was the clay with which all Kabbalists worked. "For them," a leading authority on Jewish mysticism tells us, "the 'Aggadah is not just a dead letter. They live in a world historically continuous with it and they are able, therefore, to enhance it, though in the spirit of mysticism. 'Aggadic productivity has been a constant element of Kabbalistic literature, and only when the former disappears will the latter, too, be doomed to extinction."[52] Again and again we find evidence among the friends and foes of the thirteenth century Kabbalah of the indispensable role which the 'Aggadah, accepted literally, played among them.

Paul knew and exploited all this. His Dominican order had followed the events of the Maimunist-anti-Maimunist controversy with heightened interest and, according to many Jewish historians, had actually participated in the burning of Maimonides' books in the squares of Paris. Furthermore, they had themselves precipitated a similar controversy in Christendom by denouncing the rationalistic lucubrations of the Averroists. In the very year of the disputation at Barcelona Pope Urban IV reiterated the Church's prohibitions against Aristotle's Physics, Metaphysics and other works.[53] The Dominicans and Brother Paul knew very well where Naḥmanides stood and what he believed.

It is, therefore, astonishing that at the beginning of the second day's debate Naḥmanides categorically denied the importance of the 'Aggadah in Judaism. Instead, he stressed the opinion held by the

[50] See Meshullam di Piera, שירים, Canto XL, vv. 31 ff., in H. Brody, ידיעות המכון לחקר השירה העברית בירושלים IV (Berlin-Jerusalem, 1938), p. 91.

עלה ההר / ראה קדש וטהר / בני תורה ומכל חטא מנקים
לאברהם / כפיר ישאו וינהם / ותלמידיו לשם מצוה ברוקים
ולנקמה / חנורי אף וחמה / וסוף דבר לשם האל עסוקים
ובן נחמן / לעזרתם מזמן / ולהם עז ספריו מעניקים
בארצותם / חבורות שקצתם / אמונתם אמונת הענקים

[51] *Ibid.*, Canto XLIV, vv. 88–89 (p. 104):

הם יודעים ספר וספור עם ספר / אבן לספר היקר נוהרו
הם יודעים אל יוצרם שעור אבל / מלים ליראת כופרים עצרו

[52] G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1941), p. 31.

[53] F. C. Copleston, *Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1961), p. 72.

rationalists that the 'Aggadah was not binding, that its narratives were merely homilies, or *sermones*, as the vernacular knew them, and that they could be rejected at will.[54] This *volte-face* of Naḥmanides has mystified scholars who could not deny his belief in the 'Aggadah. It can best be explained as a move of desperation to undermine the foundation of Paul's entire argument, now that the attempt to do so by equating Jesus with the Messiah had failed. Naḥmanides had made an effort in this direction on the first day of the debate. When Paul produced the first Midrash to substantiate his first argument, Naḥmanides announced that he did not believe that 'Aggadah. Paul then pounced on his words and exclaimed to the assembly, "See how he denies the writings of the Jews." At this point Naḥmanides did not attempt to explain the difference between Halakhah and 'Aggadah. Instead he retreated and agreed to accept the 'Aggadah "for argument's sake."[55] Naḥmanides on the first day had apparently not as yet brought himself to an outright denial of the place of the 'Aggadah in Judaism. The denial came on the second day. Like his attempt to link Jesus with the Messiah, this too was doomed to failure, for neither Paul nor the judges were prepared to countenance such an argument.[56]

The debate began with a lengthy preliminary discussion. It was at this time that Paul and Naḥmanides "agreed" on the agenda and each measured the strength of his opponent. Paul announced that he would invoke the rabbis' writings to support his contentions, and Naḥmanides tried to discredit this procedure. Paul reciprocated by seeking to prove that neither Naḥmanides nor anyone else was an authorized spokesman for the Jewish community. He turned to Gen. 49:10, a favorite verse in Christian polemics, and the rabbis' explanation that it bespoke the endless chain of spiritual leadership that God had promised Israel. But, contended Paul, the chain of ordination had been snapped, and Naḥmanides had no right to call himself *Maestre* or *Rav*. Needless to say, Naḥmanides fought back with his arsenal of stock arguments.[57]

When such pleasantries had been exchanged, the disputants turned to the agenda. The Messiah has come, claimed Paul, and to prove it he invoked the 'Aggadah. He produced a famous Midrash telling that

[54] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 10, lines 10 ff.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 8, lines 19 ff.

[56] The Latin protocol places Naḥmanides' denial after the record of the discussion of the third question on the agenda, but Naḥmanides could hardly have waited so long. It appears that the Latin account, which does not even mention the fact the debate lasted for several days and sessions, was more concerned with a logical than a chronological presentation of its proceedings.

[57] *Vikuaḥ*, pp. 5 ff.

an Arab had recognized in the miraculous lowing of a Jewish farmer's cow, first that the Temple had been destroyed and then, immediately thereafter, that the Messiah had been born.[58] He then turned to the tractate Sanhedrin of the Talmud and noticed there that Elijah believed that the Messiah was already on earth, and that he could be located at the gates of a certain city. According to Rashi, whom the fundamentalists followed obediently, this city was Rome![59] Naḥmanides finally conceded that the rabbinic tradition supported Paul's claim that the Messiah had been born, but he tried to save his day by insisting that though he had been born, he had as yet not come. He sought desperately to explain the Messiah's longevity on the analogy of the long-lived antediluvian worthies mentioned in the Bible, but succeeded in convincing no one that the Messiah appeared on earth more than a millennium before but had as yet not revealed himself. The king therefore pressed Naḥmanides to reveal the place where the Messiah was keeping himself, and Naḥmanides, recognizing that he could not mention Rome or any other locale on earth, retorted with what he calls irony but what may better be described as the reckless taunt of a prisoner sported before his captives, that the Messiah might be found at the gates of Toledo, and that the king might send a courier there to find him out.[60] It is not surprising that the king took his remark as a signal to suspend deliberations for that day.

In the next session of the debate Naḥmanides, who had had time to think matters over, first declared that the Messiah had been living in the Garden of Eden. Little did he realize that even this statement would cost him dearly in a subsequent discussion. Then Naḥmanides proceeded to contradict himself and to deny categorically that he believed the Messiah had come, and he strove to no avail to turn the discussion to a consideration of Jesus' qualifications for the Messiahship.[61]

Paul's arguments to support his view that the Messiah possessed a theanthropic nature are the most interesting of the debate. In order to confuse his opponent and compromise his position, he decided first cleverly to alternate rabbinic statements alleging the Messiah's divinity with others that illuminated his human qualities, and to follow these with carefully selected passages implying that he was simultaneously human and divine.

Was the Messiah divine? Yes, said Paul, turning to Isa. 52:13,

[58] Lam. Rabbah, I:51.
[59] Sanhedrin 98a and Rashi *ad loc.*
[60] *Vikuaḥ*, pp. 9–10.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 12, lines 21 ff.

which declares, "Behold My servant shall prosper. He shall be exalted and lifted up and shall be very high." The rabbis themselves had identified God's servant with the Messiah and had explained the verse to mean that the Messiah would be exalted above Abraham, lifted up above Isaac, and raised higher than the ministering angels.[62] They had applied the verse to Prince Zerubbabel, who was often viewed as the Messiah, and who, of course, had already come. Agreeing with the rabbis and the Christian tradition, Paul asserted that only to the Messiah could the superhuman qualities mentioned by the rabbis be applied.[63]

Was the Messiah human? Yes, said Paul, and he turned to Dan. 9:24 ff., another favorite passage of the polemicists.[64] His intention was not to become involved in a long discussion of the meaning of the seventy weeks mentioned in these verses, but apparently he could not avoid it. According to a Jewish tradition,[65] accepted by the Christians, the seventy years began with the Babylonian Exile and ended with the destruction of the Second Temple and the appearance (and death) of the Messiah, but Naḥmanides had to insist that the verses referred to the human prince Zerubbabel, and that nowhere before the twelfth chapter of Daniel was there any allusion to the time of the coming of the Messiah. It was an unconvincing argument, if for no other reason than the fact that Naḥmanides himself had made extensive use of the early chapters in the Book of Daniel in his own messianic calculations, and even availed himself of the passage in the ninth chapter which Paul was discussing.[66] Once more, therefore, Paul forced Naḥmanides into a self-contradiction where the only alternative was complete acquiescence in a major Christian line of messianic interpretation.

A moment later Naḥmanides was embarrassed again. The discussion logically turned to the final chapter of Daniel, to the eleventh and twelfth verses, and to an interpretation of the meaning of the discrepancy of forty-five days in the reckoning found in these two verses. In accordance with a Jewish tradition, Paul explained that these forty-five days were to be interpreted literally[67] and he went on

[62] Tanḥuma, ed. Buber, *Toledot*, p. 139. Cf. *Yalkut Shimoni*, II, ss. 476, 571 and *Zohar* I, 181 a-b.

[63] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 13, lines 12 ff.

[64] See J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (New York, 1927), pp. 375–76.

[65] See Rashi *ad loc.*; Nazir 32b; Origen, *De Principiis*, Book IV, Chap. 1, s. 5.

[66] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 15, lines 1–2. See A. H. Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (New York, 1927), p. 85, n. 12.

[67] Cant. Rabbah 2:9; Ruth Rabbah 5:6.

to say that they represented the time when the Messiah was concealed; but Naḥmanides, recognizing the implication that the Messiah had come and the strong possibility that Christians would apply these forty-five days to an incident in Jesus' life, insisted on interpreting the word "day" as "year,"[68] and produced numerous rabbinical statements to support this exegesis. The king, however, picked a Jew at random, asked him what the word in question "YOM" meant, and he responded that it meant day. This shamed Naḥmanides and angered him into declaring that this Jew was not fit to judge in the matter. To be sure he was not, and the king knew it, but this realization in no way alleviated Naḥmanides' chagrin.

Paul's intention in turning to Dan. 9:24 ff. was rather to stress the human quality of the Messiah, to show that the prince destined to be cut off (verse 26) was the anointed one (verse 25), who in turn was the "most holy" of the previous verse. The rabbis generally interpreted the words קדש קדשים of v. 24 to mean "the most holy place," or the sanctuary.[69] Paul applied them to the Messiah, and not without reason, for it was known even to Christian circles that this was Naḥmanides' own interpretation as well.[70] Brother Paul had scored another point.

He then returned to the divinity of the Messiah, citing the Midrash which pictured the Messiah as having entered the Garden of Eden,[71] and implying that only superhuman qualities could have secured him admission. Naḥmanides' rebuttal evidences that he did not misunderstand Paul's intention, for he discusses the details of the Midrash in question and then asks whether such things could be said of God himself. Since Naḥmanides had previously professed that the Messiah was in the Garden of Eden, he now admitted that this was his abode, but stressed that he was a man.

There was to be sure a contradiction implicit in Naḥmanides' reply, and Paul was ready for it. If the Messiah lived for centuries in the Garden of Eden, did this not attest to his superhuman nature? If he was a man, was he not subject to death like all other mortals?

Brother Paul now claimed he was mortal, and to substantiate his

[68] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 15, lines 26 ff.

[69] See Rashi *ad loc.* For an example of the Christian understanding, see Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, Book I, Ch. 21.

[70] See Raymundo Martini, *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (Leipzig-Frankfurt, 1687), p. 866, speaking of Dan. 9:24: "R. Moseh filius Nachman Gerundensis dicit כי קודש קדשים משיח המקודש מבני דוד."

[71] Naḥmanides himself had explained that the Messiah was in the Garden of Eden in the place of Adam who had been expelled (Gen. 3:23). See *Vikuaḥ*, p. 11, lines 3 ff. and Gen. Rabbah 21:7.

claim, brought forward an unequivocal statement to this effect by one of the most respected and controversial authorities in Judaism, Moses Maimonides. He quoted Maimonides as saying that the Messiah would die, and that his son and after him his grandson would rule in his place. Apparently Naḥmanides challenged Paul to produce the book containing this statement, and Paul not unnaturally asked for that book of Maimonides which speaks in some detail of the Messiah and the messianic age, affirming that the Messiah will not perform preternatural miracles and that in most ways there will be no difference between the messianic age and the world as we now know it. That book is the Mishneh Torah's Book of Judges, but it does not contain the statement that Paul made. Naḥmanides tells us that Paul kept turning the pages of the book in a futile and increasingly embarrassing effort to locate it, and that the Jewish sage discredited him by declaring that the book did not contain the statement, and pointing out that the vision of the Messiah it presented was one more favorable to the Jews than to the Christians.[72] If Naḥmanides' account describes this discussion fully, there was one thing he forgot to tell his opponent, and that subsequent scholars have forgotten to mention, namely, that Maimonides did say precisely what Paul claimed he did, only in a different book. In his commentary to the famous tenth chapter of the Mishnah Sanhedrin, Maimonides says: והמשיח ימות וימלך אחריו בנו ובן בנו.[73] Naḥmanides may have suppressed this part of the discussion to avoid further mention of the name of the still controversial Maimonides. He could, however, not suppress an admission that the rabbinic sages agreed with Paul's view. Thus though Naḥmanides had previously insisted on the Messiah's superhuman longevity, he recognized that there had been Jews who believed that the Messiah, born of woman and of the seed royal of David, would live no longer than any other human being.

Paul now turned to his *tour de force*, a demonstration that Jewish literature attested to the simultaneous divinity and humanity of the Messiah. Here he called upon three carefully chosen biblical verses and their rabbinic interpretations, Ps. 110:1, Lev. 26:12 and Gen. 1:2.

Ps. 110:1 reads "The Lord saith unto my lord, sit thou at My right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Who was the second "lord"? The rabbis recognized the problem and generally solved it by applying it to Abraham and his exaltation above Melchi-

[72] Maimonides' *Book of Judges*, 11:3 f., 12:1 ff.

[73] *Commentary to the Mishnah*, Ch. X, S. 1:34. Paul's quotation, according to Naḥmanides' account is identical. *Vikuaḥ*, p. 16, line 22. Cf. Maimonides תחיית המתים (Bomberg, 1858), f. 7 *v*.

zedek.[74] Some, however, thought it spoke of the Messiah.[75] This was logical, since the mention of Zion in the following verse suggests that the passage speaks of David rather than Abraham.[76] The Zohar interpreted the first verse messianically,[77] and perhaps the Gerona kabbalists did too, which might explain Paul's predilection for the passage. Naḥmanides tried lamely to explain that the second "lord" refers to David, for though David was the author of the Psalm, he wrote it for the Levites to recite, and thus could refer to himself as "my lord" from their point of view. Naḥmanides had some logic and rabbinic support on his side, but his rebuttal did not address itself to Paul's argument that the rabbis had seen the Messiah in the verse under consideration, or to his implication that the Messiah so mentioned was a human being who was exalted to a divine place beside that of the divine Father.

The second verse further clarifies Paul's purpose. Lev. 26:12 quotes the Lord as saying that he will walk among his people and will be their God. Jewish tradition had long struggled with this verse. Onkelos, with his usual abhorrence of anthropomorphisms, altered it to read that God would place his Manifest Presence (the Shekhinah) in the midst of his people. Rashi, on the other hand, accepted anthropomorphisms and explained that God would walk with his people in the Garden of Eden as one of them, and no one would be afraid of him. Naḥmanides, in his commentary to Leviticus, brought God down to earth. While he sought to avoid a crass ascription of matter and form to the Deity, he could not refrain from explaining that God's activity would be known among his people "like a king walking among his people." Naḥmanides further insisted that the verse referred to this world and not to the world to come.[78]

Was Paul's use of the verse accidental? Could he have failed to realize that the Jewish tradition which depicted God as walking among men in human form was essentially the view cherished by Naḥmanides? Indeed, Paul could not have picked a better verse to prove that God the Father had manifested himself on earth in a human form which coincided with the Christian idea of God the Son.

Paul's next step was the obvious one. He took the words in Gen. 1:2, "and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," and showed from the Midrash that the Jewish sages believed that the spirit of

[74] Lev. Rabbah 35:6; Nedarim 35b; Tanḥuma, ed. Buber, *Lech* 37b, *Vayar* 43.
[75] Midrash Soḥer Tov, Ps. 18.
[76] Gen. Rabbah 85:9. [77] Zohar III, 242b.
[78] Naḥmanides, *Commentary to the Pentateuch, ad loc.* The Zohar's use of this verse is likewise definitely anthropomorphic. *Zohar* II, 114a.

God was the spirit of the Messiah.[79] As usual there were conflicting rabbinic explanations of the verse, but Paul paid these no heed. He had found the text he wanted. It supported his view that the Messiah was God the Holy Spirit, and it completed most adequately his demonstration that from the Jewish tradition one could prove that the Messiah, at once human and divine, was inseparable from God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost.

Needless to say, Naḥmanides does not reveal Paul's purpose in using these verses, and the casual reader may not, on his first reading, see their obvious connection to the trinitarian doctrine. But any doubt that this is what Paul had in mind is dispelled by a perusal of the monumental anti-Jewish work, the *Pugio Fidei*, written by Raymond Martin (Raymundo Martí), who was a contemporary of Paul Christian, a member of the same Dominican order, and part of the circle of Dominican monks who devoted themselves to a study of rabbinics for missionary purposes. The *Pugio Fidei*, first published in 1278, but clearly in the process of preparation at the time of the Disputation of Barcelona, reveals the messianic importance for the Dominicans of the biblical verses Paul used and interpretations of these verses which coincide with Paul's.

Thus in the case of Ps. 110:1 Raymond explains that the Messiah was asked to sit at the right hand of God the Father (!), not that the Father possesses a right hand, but that this word represents divine bliss (*beatitudo*).[80]

In the case of Lev. 26:12, the *Pugio Fidei* clearly states that only the Messiah (!), whom God from eternity had foreseen as never sinning, was worthy to draw nigh unto God, even to join and unite with him.[81]

In the case of Gen. 1:2, the *Pugio Fidei* unmistakably affirms that the spirit of God is the Spiritus Sanctus.[82]

These examples and others from the *Pugio Fidei*, including Paul's understanding of the words קדש קדשים in Dan. 9:24 to mean the

[79] Gen Rabbah 2:5.

[80] *Pugio Fidei*, p. 538: "Dixit Dominus Dominus (sic!) meo, Sede ad dextram meam etc. B. Isidorus libro primo de summo bono sic ait: Sedet Christus ad dextram Dei Patris, non ut dextram corpoream habeat Pater, sed dextra Patris beatitudo est, sicut sinistra miseria." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 476, 705, 910, 527 and also the commentary by J. Voisin, *ibid.*, pp. 154, 497a and 497b. He, as other Christians have done, recognizes that Saadia (Commentary to Dan. 7:13) understood the second "lord" in Ps. 110:1 to refer to the Messiah.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 734: "Solum Messiam, quem ab aeterno praeviderat Deus nunquam peccaturum . . . dignum fuit (*sic.*) Deo assumere, ac sibi conjungere & unire." Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 684 f., 732.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 545. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22 and the commentary, p. 497.

Messiah,[83] not only support the above interpretation of Paul's arguments, but point out as well that in these arguments he was speaking less as an individual than as a representative of an institution which in all probability was evolving an official approach for debates with Jews.

Surprisingly, the Latin account omits Paul's entire argument on the second question of the agenda. Was it because the Dominicans were afraid to record for the reading of other learned Christians anything dealing with the nature of the Christ, a problem which caused the Church much trouble in its early days, which alienated many intellectuals since the beginnings of scholasticism, and which challenged all the ingenuity that the faithful doctors of the Church could muster? At least as early as Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* the scholastic thinkers were eager to find a rationalistic explanation for the theanthropic nature of the Christ, and the problem was doubtlessly no less acute in face of the threat of the thirteenth century heretical movements. If this was the reason for the omission of the argument from the Latin protocol, it would tend to substantiate the view that each of the verses Paul Christian used was directly connected with proving the Church's conception of the true nature of the Christ.

Reciprocally, as it were, Naḥmanides omitted a full discussion of the next item, even to the point of suppressing the question from his version of the agenda, as we have already observed. But at least Naḥmanides' record reveals three instances where the theme was discussed, and these agree substantially with the instances mentioned in the Latin version. In Naḥmanides' booklet they are placed in an anomalous context in the record of the first and second day's proceedings. They include two 'aggadic statements, the first to prove that the Suffering Servant of Isa. 52:13-53:9 was the Messiah who suffered and died for his people,[84] and the second, to emphasize the Messiah's willingness to assume the burden of suffering for his people in order to insure that the resurrection of the dead, — doubtlessly meaning for Paul the Messiah's own resurrection —, would take place in his time.[85] Naḥmanides, as was to be expected, countered by pointing out that

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[84] *Vikuaḥ*, pp. 13-14. See Onkelos *ad loc.*; Berakhoth 5a; Sanhedrin 98b; *Yalqut Shime'oni* II, 476, and a full treatment in J. J. Brierre-Narbonne, *Le Messie souffrant dans la littérature rabbinique* (Paris, 1940), pp. 4 ff.

[85] See Pesikta Rabbati, ed. Friedman, p. 161b, S. 36 and in A. Neubauer and S. R. Driver, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters*, I (London, 1877), pp. 9 ff. Paul's statement may be a composite of several Midrashim, such as those based on Isa. 52:2 (see *Yalqut Shime'oni* II, 475), the idea of the Holy Spirit bringing resurrection ('Avodah Zarah, 20b) and the concept of the Messiah's revelation at the time of resurrection recorded in the Zohar I, 116b.

the Servant was generally understood to be the entire people Israel,[86] but again he could not contest the accuracy of Paul's remarks and had to resort to his often used and as often futile stratagem of claiming that what the rabbis said of the Messiah did not apply to Jesus. In another instance, when the passage Isa. 52:13 was under discussion, Paul and the Dominicans even refused to hear the lengthy explanation which Naḥmanides was prepared to give for the Suffering Servant.[87] This rebuff probably led to Naḥmanides' composition of a tract, now printed with his version of the disputation,[88] in which he admits that the Servant in rabbinic literature is often the individual Messiah. He then proceeds to demonstrate that such a Messiah could not as yet have come.

The debate may have ended before the fourth question was discussed.[89] Neither account mentions it. The Latin protocol would have us believe that after the fourth session of the debate and before the fourth question could be discussed, Naḥmanides took advantage of the king's temporary absence from Barcelona to flee from the city. Such a dramatic ending does not coincide with the facts. A week after the fourth session, Naḥmanides tells us, he was in Barcelona to speak on behalf of the Jews in the synagogue where the king and the Dominicans had come to preach conversionist sermons.[90] Naḥmanides tells us that he remained in the city for this specific purpose. He could hardly have invented the incident at the synagogue, and this would hardly have taken place had he fled. If he had fled and returned, the Dominicans' willingness to let him speak and the king's display of friendship to him as he was about to leave the city could find no explanation. Interestingly, the Latin account says nothing of the meeting in the Barcelona synagogue. It seems clear that its report of Naḥmanides' flight was a touch of sensational reporting totally out of keeping with the aridity of the rest of the account, but not with the purpose that the Dominicans had in mind.

Whether the debate was inexplicably interrupted before the fourth session must remain a moot question, but it is not an important one. The fourth question did not have to be discussed. After Brother Paul's arguments in the discussion of the first three propositions of the debate, the fourth was no longer a subject for discussion, but a patent con-

[86] See commentators *ad loc.* and Neubauer-Driver, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

[87] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 9, line 20.

[88] In Steinschneider's edition, pp. 23–26. It was also printed by Neubauer-Driver, *op. cit.* I, pp. 75–81.

[89] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 21, lines 14 f.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 21, lines 15 ff.

clusion. In the eyes of the judges, the Dominicans and the king, Paul had proved his point and victory was his.

That Paul emerged from the debate with honor is made clear by his continued participation in the high councils of the Dominicans, his selection as the preacher of conversionist sermons to the Jews, his appointment to the commission on censorship of Jewish books in Aragon,[91] and the esteem in which he was held by King Louis IX in his subsequent visits to the communities of Provence.[92]

The appearance of the king and the Dominicans in the synagogue of Barcelona eight days after the concluding session of the debate testifies further to their belief that Paul had run off with the victory. Otherwise they would have been less likely to intrude into the worship service of a Sabbath morning and to begin preaching, as did King James, on the Messiahship of Jesus, or expounding, as did the redoubtable Raymond of Penyafort, on the mystery of the Trinity. Incidentally, in so far as can be seen, they employed an approach not dissimilar to the one found in the Zohar and presumably the earlier mystic literature in Spain.[93]

Nor could we understand the series of decrees against the Jews[94] and their sacred literature which began to issue from the royal palace, unless we posit a Christian victory in the debate. Only three weeks after his synagogue appearance, King James issued a decree, ordering his functionaries to welcome the Dominicans who would be coming to preach to the Jews, to aid them in assembling Jewish audiences, by force if necessary, and to protect Jewish converts to Christianity. Two days later the king ordered the seizure and burning of all the writings of Maimonides (!), whose Aristotelian arguments doubtlessly made him as suspect of abetting anti-Christian heresies as much as the pronouncements of the so-called Averroists in the Christian universities. The following day James informed his Jewish subjects that he had delegated Paul Christian to preach to them and admonished them to listen to him "meekly and favorably" (*mansuete et favorabiliter*) and to respond to his queries "with humility and reverence" (*humiliter et reverenter*). The same day the king commanded the Jews

[91] Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 f.

[92] Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[93] See Zohar III, 153b: ובך יתקיים רזא דיונה דעאל בעמקין דתהומי ימא הכי תיטול אנת בעמירו דתהומי אוריתא דה"ד (יונה ב) ותשליכני מצולה בלבב ימים ויהון דכמה הסד נצד לימין דבגיניידי אמר דוד (תהלים קיד) ימין ד' עושה חיל ימין ד' רוממה ימין ד' עושה חיל ותלת משמאלא יתקשרון כחדא דאינון בנד גבורה דוד וג' דרגין דאמצעיתא כתר תפארת יסוד דאחידו בימינא ושמאלא. ובגין דהוא לה נביא מתקשר בתלת דרגין דאמצעיתא פתח עלה דאי ברא (ישעיה נב) הנה ישכיל עבדי ידום ונשא וגבה מאד ובגין דאנת תהא אחיד בתרין משיחין אמר דוד על ג' ימינין המשיח בן דוד ימין ד' תלת זמנין לקביל ג' שמאלין דאחיד בהן משיח בן אפרים . . .

[94] Published by Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.

to erase from their sacred books those passages which the Christians regarded as objectionable. To supervise this project he appointed a committee consisting of three Dominicans, Raymond of Penyafort, Arnold of Segarre and Paul Christian, the very three who figured prominently in the debate! A decree of August 30, 1263, somewhat mitigated the harshness of its predecessors. It instructed public officials not to compel the Jews to attend the Dominicans' sermons outside their ghettos or even within them. James tossed another scrap to the Jews on March 27, 1264, when he ruled that they would not be obligated to take the initiative in censoring their holy writings. But these palliatives did not neutralize the toxin of the previous decrees.

On realizing the nature of the debate and studying these decrees, one cannot repress a question that insinuates itself with increasing intensity. Why was the debate necessary? The king did not require it as a prelude for the action he contemplated against the Jews. The power of legislation rested in his hands. The decrees reflected the wishes of the clergy. And if it was popular support the monarch craved, a few inflammatory sermons by the Dominicans would have sufficed to fan the hatred which flickered disturbingly in the popular breast. Certainly, the decrees were not conditioned upon King James' or Brother Paul's proving to anyone, least of all the clergy, that the Jews walked in religious darkness or that their writings attested to the coming of the Christ.

The debate was indeed a demonstration. But what was it a demonstration of?

The Context of the Disputation

With this question we leave the analysis of the texts of the debate and the abundance of their evidence to enter into the knotty problem of its context. Here evidence is scarce, but the questions raised are pressing. The context must be reconstructed.

The starting point for such a reconstruction is an unusual incident recorded in both texts of the debate. Naḥmanides tells us that when all the notables were convened in the palatial hall at the beginning of the fourth day's sessions, he arose and surprised the assembly with an announcement that he did not wish to proceed with the debate. Pressure had been brought to bear upon him by people who were "afraid of the Dominicans, for they cast a pall of fear upon all." These people were not Jews, but Christians from all walks of life — commoners, nobles, ranking clergymen and even one of the major

participants in the disputation, Brother Peter of Genoa himself. This numerous group had even enlisted the help of Jews to persuade Naḥmanides to do his utmost to bring the disputation to a close.[95]

What was behind this extraordinary event? Was it, as some have claimed, that the Christians were concerned with Naḥmanides' outspokenness and feared that its continuation would result in terrible reprisals against the Jews?[96] If so, why did not the Jews take the lead in muzzling their spokesman? Why the sudden concern of the Christians, who knew before the debate began that such discussions inevitably led to untoward consequences for the Jews? Why did the Dominicans, who were also Christians and in the best position to gauge the impact and consequences of the debate, not join with the others? And why did the king brush aside Naḥmanides' suggestion and order him to continue with the debate? Whatever the reasons might have been, they had nothing to do with a sudden surge of benevolence on the part of some Christians toward the Jews, or, as some may imply, with a fear on the Jews' part that their protagonist was losing the debate.

By not ignoring it, the Latin account emphasizes the importance of the incident. Though it calls the entire plot a fabrication of Naḥmanides, it takes care to record that Brother Peter of Genoa disclaimed any participation in it. The lameness of this explanation, added to Naḥmanides' reputation for political sagacity, reveals that the plot was not a figment but a fact. As such it exposed an embarrassing cleavage in the ranks of the Christians. The masses, the nobility, or at least the higher nobility,[97] many Churchmen and representatives of the Franciscan order opposed the coalition of the king and the Dominicans, whose nature was becoming more obvious as the disputation progressed. By the end of the third day's proceedings — if not before — it was evident that the anticipated victory of the Christians would result in catapulting the Dominican order into a position of power and prestige guaranteed by the king himself. This recognition was sufficient to instil fear in all strata of the population.

All Christians, to be sure, respected the Friars Preachers and their

[95] *Vikuaḥ*, p. 17, lines 19 ff. An interesting side light to Peter of Genoa's role can be seen in his agreement with Naḥmanides on the rabbinic interpretation of Gen. 49:10 and then his cautious qualifications of this agreement. *Vikuaḥ*, p. 7, lines 25 ff.

[96] Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Graetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 f.

[97] W. B. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, I (New York, 1918), pp. 453 f. Merriman points out that the kings of Aragon seem to have deliberately increased the prerogatives of the lower nobility as a counterweight to those of the barons or *ricos-hombres* who constituted the upper nobility. There were nine such barons in the time of James I.

indefatigable toil on behalf of Christianity, or more particularly, the Papacy.[98] They were, as Pope Innocent IV described them, "a public horse, always ready to fight against the malice of heretics, to correct the straying of the faithful, to break the wickedness of tyrants, to accept all the burdens of the Church Universal . . . ."[99] In the short span of their existence the Dominicans had conferred upon them the accolade of "special beloved sons of the Church."[100] They had snuffed out the Albigensian heresy, beaten down Averroism in the universities, and with the prepotent weapon of the Inquisition they had intimidated into submission many who dared obstruct the Church's will.

This is precisely why many Christians feared them. Bishops, jealous of their all but titular independence, were loath to subordinate themselves to the upstart Romanizers of the church.[101] The Franciscans, who vied with the Dominicans for top billing as the defenders of Rome and the faith, had reason to display their understandable, albeit uncharitable, envy of their brethren. Churchmen, nobles and masses alike who saw what the Inquisition under the Dominicans had done to their counterparts in neighboring Provence and Catalonia, cringed at the thought that the Aragonese *fueros* forbidding it might some day be rescinded and the Inquisition extended to their native land.[102]

The nobles had even more to dread. Since the beginning of James' reign they had battled with desperate tenacity to prevent the king from diminishing their prerogatives and thus consolidating the power of his central government.[103] Their success was phenomenal. Though

[98] Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, I, 190 ff.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 190. Cf. F. B. Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1958), p. 448.

[100] Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[101] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 28 ff.

[102] F. D. Swift, *The Life and Times of James the First the Conqueror* (Oxford, 1894), p. 242. H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, I (New York, 1906), pp. 278 f. Cf. Ch. de Tourtoulon, *Jacme Ier le Conquérant* II (Montpellier, 1867), pp. 380–83; 594–96. On the fear of the Dominicans in Provence, see G. G. Coulton, *Inquisition and Liberty* (London, 1938). On one reaction to the Dominicans (and Franciscans) elsewhere in Europe, see *Anales Minorum* IV (Rome, 1732), p. 115. Hoc anno (i. e., 1259!) cum Philippus Ravennae Archiepiscopus, Alexandro pontifice jubente, Provinciale Concilium indixisset, multi malevoli in Dominicanos & Franciscanos invehebantur, dicentes: de decimis illos at populi non concionari, audire a confessionibus eos, qui audiri ab ipsis deberent, sibique ad sepulturam commissos recipere, concionandique munus exequi, quod tamen ipsorum esset, iisque omnibus impediri, ne pecuniam adversus Tartaros Christianorum subsidio cogerent. An example of a quarrel between the Dominicans and Franciscans (in 1278) may be found in H. Holzapfel, *The History of the Franciscan Order*, translated by A. Tibesar and G. Brinkmann (Teutopolis, Illinois, 1948), p. 36.

[103] R. Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, I (Madrid, 1928), p. 397. There can be no question about the fact that the church-

the king's *Romancero*, with its romantic flair, would have us believe that James could "fell the disloyal nobles with a glance,"[104] reality was less inclined to favor him. He was constantly struggling against his nobles, gaining victories touted as permanent, which turned out to be short-lived. A mere three years before the Disputation of Barcelona, the relations between the king and nobles were strained to the breaking point, and James was making preparations for what seemed to be the inevitable civil war.[105] The war had not yet come in 1263 and was eventually averted, but at the time of the disputation the tautness had not yet left the atmosphere of Aragon.[106]

It was evident that the king could benefit from the support of the Church and natural for the nobility to view such an alliance with alarm.

Of course, the king would have to pay a price to the Dominicans for their support. This price could very well have been the granting to the Preachers complete hegemony in his realm over matters of the spirit, and the right to consider all Jews fair game for conversionist activities.[107]

If we examine the history of the kingdom of Aragon between the time of the disputation and the death of King James in 1276, the consistency of the above explanation with the facts at our disposal will become evident. From 1263 on King James managed to unify his realm, at least for his lifetime,[108] and to exercise a greater measure of control than heretofore over his restive nobility. Though in former years his relations with the Papacy had been strained,[109] they were

men repeatedly threw their lot in with the nobility. See Merriman, *op. cit.*, pp. 454 f.

[104] *Romancero de don Jaime el Conquistador*, ed. B. de los Ríos Nostench de Lampérez (Madrid, 1891), p. 213. At the same time it reveals the intense struggle that was going on: "Viendo de sus privilegios/el alcazar derrumbarse los soberbios infanzones/pugnaban por sustentarle." *Ibid.*

[105] J. Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, III (Barcelona, 1886), pp. 478 ff.

[106] James tried to redirect some of the pressures against him by the *ricos-hombres* through an agreement with Alfonso X of Castile permitting the nobles to participate, presumably for a high price, in his war against the Moors. Balaguer, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

[107] The Jews converted to Christianity had already been placed under the close surveillance of the Dominicans. See J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia de los judíos de España y Portugal*, III (Madrid, 1875), p. 413. Regné, *op. cit.*, LXI, no. 22.

[108] See Altamira, *op. cit.*, pp. 397 ff. The nobles continued, however, to press for advantage and forced occasional concessions from the monarch. An interesting side light which seems to illuminate the Dominicans' desire for unity in the country is seen in the likely conspiracy of Raymond of Penyafort with Peter, oldest son of James, to prevent the king from bequeathing to a younger son, also named James, the territories of Valencia and the Balearic Isles. See Balaguer, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

[109] These relations had reached their nadir in 1262 when Pope Urban IV sought

now harmonious by comparison, punctured only by an occasional jostling for supremacy between him and the Dominicans (!).[110] The Jews, as evidenced by the decrees of August 1263, were seriously hurt and subjected to the Dominicans. But the damage to the Jews was limited to the spiritual realm; economically their favorable position remained essentially unaltered. By law they continued to be slaves of the imperial chamber and subjected as such to the whims of the monarch, who could cancel debts owed to them or otherwise use them as pawns in his political dealings;[111] but practically they continued to be James' honored servants, permitted to engage in a wide variety of endeavors and to reap the fruits and honors of their enterprise. In the very year, perhaps at the very time of the disputation, when the king was planning an expedition against the Moors, a Jew, named Jahudano, who can be identified as the bailiff of Zaragoza, Judah de la Caballería, came to his aid and provisioned his armies. This Jew, a chronicle tells us, was "the richest and most powerful in this dominion. The king had entrusted him with an important role in all the affairs of State . . . . He held the position of bailiff (*bayle*) and treasurer general."[112] There were other such Jews after the disputation as before, and through the cloud of Dominican pressure and preaching, which stalwart Jews could withstand, life smiled as beneficently as heretofore upon the seed of Abraham in Aragon.[113] Indeed, in 1273, when the Pope honored James with an invitation to the Council of Lyons, the Jews gratefully presented their monarch with a substantial purse for his journey. And

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in vain to prevent the marriage of James' son Peter and the daughter of the excommunicated Manfred of Sicily. See H. Mann, *Lives of the Popes* XV (London, 1929), pp. 157 f.

[110] Thus James counseled his son-in-law, Alfonso the Wise of Castile to "keep the Church in his love." He was jealous, however, to prevent the encroachment of the Church in the economic sphere. He even restricted the endowments of the Church in Valencia. See H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London, 1933), p. 111. Cf. Merriman, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[111] Chaytor, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[112] G. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, I (Zaragoza, 1669), p. 178. On the identification of Jahudano with Judah de la Caballería, see A. Bofarull y Broca, *Historia crítica (civil y eclesiástica) de Cataluña*, III (Barcelona, 1876), p. 254, and M. Kayserling, "The Jews of Spain," in *JQR* (Old Series) VIII (London, 1894), p. 494.

[113] On the economic situation of the Jews of Aragon see Amador de los Ríos, *op. cit.*, pp. 379 ff.; Swift, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 ff., and, for a broader picture, F. Baer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Konigreich Aragonien wahrend des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 128 ff. and *idem*, pp. 82 ff. and 111 ff. James even protected Jews against churchmen. Amador de los Ríos, *op. cit.*, p. 423. For many of the pertinent documents see A. Huici, *Colección diplomática de Jaime I el Conquistador* I and II (Valencia, 1918), *passim*.

when the king died three years later, the Jewish community unrestrainedly bewailed his passing.[114]

All these facts suggest that the purpose of the disputation was to dramatize the new alliance between the Dominicans and the king. Such an alliance could not be announced as a political move, but had to be presented in a framework which would appeal to the sentiments that united all strata of the population. In thirteenth century Aragon these sentiments were religious. The people were united by Christianity. The king posed as its defender, and the Jews were regarded as its inveterate enemy. By humbling the Jews with their own literature the Dominicans, already renowned as fighters for their faith, could rise in the popular mind as the unparalleled champions of Christianity, and hope to win mass support away from nobles and local bishops. That the Dominicans did not succeed in doing so completely, as seen by the incident at the beginning of the final day's debate, evidences the power and prestige of the nobility and churchmen to which so many contemporary documents attest.

Naturally, such demonstration of Dominican superiority could have succeeded only with the participation of the Jews; hence the orders given to Naḥmanides. But why did Naḥmanides not protest against being used in this way? Why did he not remonstrate with the king against the entire project of the disputation? Why did he not seek to discontinue the debate in its earliest stages, after his initial setbacks and embarrassments, particularly when the judges refused him the right to disprove the central Christian contention that Jesus was the Messiah? The fact is that Naḥmanides did not protest, indeed, he acquiesced in the king's wishes and thus, to some extent at least, co-operated with the monarch in the staging of the debate. Such co-operation involved no hypocrisy on Naḥmanides' part. Within the limitations of the debate, he was given permission to speak forthrightly and to defend his faith vigorously. It merely called for a loyalty to the king to go through with the spectacle, to accept the humiliation of defeat, thereby helping the king achieve his purpose, and to be rewarded thereafter with the king's largesse. Naḥmanides effectively demonstrated his loyalty to the monarch during the course of the debate by his ostensibly naive, but actually diplomatic announcement to the king and the Dominicans, at the beginning of the fourth day's discussions, that forces were marshalling against his alliance and were seeking to interrupt the debate, an announcement that stunned a man like Peter of Genoa into a compromising denial. And King James reciprocated by continuing to befriend Naḥmanides after the debate,

[114] Amador de los Ríos, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

as we have seen and shall have occasion to observe again. Much more important was the monarch's continued protection of the economic interests of the Jews of Aragon after the disputation. Would it be unreasonable to conjecture that Naḥmanides recognized that his submission to the king's will and plan would be rewarded with the safeguarding of the physical well-being of the Jews of Aragon? Would it be out of keeping with the stature of the sage of Gerona, as a community leader and as an exemplary diplomat, to imagine that he was prepared to suffer unfairly the ephemeral pangs of humiliation in order to safeguard the security of his flock?[115]

We have no way of determining fully what brought on the Disputation of Barcelona, but a reconstruction such as this helps to explain the conflicting details in a coherent manner. Perhaps the future will reveal new data that will permit a more precise reformulation of the context of the debate.

Such a reconstruction also helps unravel the imbroglio surrounding the publication of Naḥmanides' account, nearly two years after the disputation. The publication came as a complete surprise, especially to the Dominicans, and their reaction was violent. This is understandable, since Naḥmanides makes no effort to conceal the intellectual subtleties and subterfuge to which his opponent resorted, or the partial role of the judges in the debate. The Dominicans brought Naḥmanides to trial, apparently on the charge of having violated his trust not to publish anything on the disputation, and probably demanded the severest of penalties. King James was prepared to mete out what he considered condign punishment, the banishment of Naḥmanides from his realm for two years and the consignment of his tract to the flames.[116] Disappointed by what they felt was James' undue leniency to Naḥmanides, the Dominicans objected to this sentence; whereupon James cancelled it and let it be known that in the future Naḥmanides would have to answer to no one in this matter save the king alone.[117]

Why did Naḥmanides compose his tract? Some scholars say he did so to counteract the Dominicans' propaganda and perhaps their

[115] It might be added that the humiliation and defeat would not be accepted by the Jews, who did not share Paul's premise that the Messiah could be proved from rabbinic literature. Naḥmanides' stature among his own people was thus in no way diminished; of his esteem among Christians as a religious thinker he could not have been at all concerned.

[116] Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 f. (Document dated April 12, 1265, end).

[117] *Ibid.* Here James says to Naḥmanides: Quapropter nos Ia. Dei gratia rex predictus concedimus tibi . . . quod de premissis vel aliquo premissorum in posse alicuius perssone non . . . (tenearis tempore aliquo respondere nisi tantum in posse nostro et presentia.

version of the debate.[118] If so, why did he wait nearly two years before publishing his account? And how explain the fact that when he did publish it, he acted not on his own initiative but at the behest of Peter of Castellnou, the Bishop of Gerona? Why did the cleric induce Naḥmanides to disobey the strict orders presumably given him not to publish his version?[119]

Apparently, the Bishop of Gerona was unconcerned about the possible embarrassment of the Dominicans. Could he have wanted to contribute to that embarrassment? The bishops of Gerona could boast a history of discreet indiscretions. Twenty years earlier Brother Berenguer of Castellbisbal, bishop of Gerona and confessor to King James I, had offended the king, according to some, by revealing the details of the monarch's extra-marital adventures,[120] according to others, by becoming involved in a nobles' plot,[121] and was severely punished by having his tongue cut out to prevent any future *lapsus linguae*. Was the Bishop of Gerona in 1265 following his predecessor's footsteps?

Again the question is difficult to answer, but the answer seems to be no. Both the Bishop of Gerona and Naḥmanides emerged unscathed from this incident. There is even some question as to whether James really intended to impose the penalty he had announced for Naḥmanides, and a further question as to whether it was intended to bait the Dominicans into a protest that would lead to Naḥmanides' complete freedom. Even if the penalty were imposed, it would have cost Naḥmanides little. His book, so long unwritten, would have been burned out of circulation but not removed from his mind, and while he would have been banished from Aragon, he could still remain on in the Iberian Peninsula and within a short period of time purchase the annulment of his exile.

The only group that was hurt were the Dominicans, who were apparently vying for power with their erstwhile ally, James. This was already patent in James' decree of March 27, 1264, in which he appointed a Franciscan, Peter of Genoa (!), to the previously all-

[118] Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Graetz, "Die Disputation des Bonastruc mit fra Pablo in Barcelona," *Monatschrift fur die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, XIV (Breslau, 1865), p. 431.

[119] Denifle, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* Girbal, *op. cit.*, p. 13, agrees with Villanueva, *op. cit.*, p. 186, that the Bishop of Gerona wanted to have Naḥmanides' report in writing so that it could better be refuted by the Catholics. If so, why did the Dominicans become so angry?

[120] P. de Gayangos in the introduction to his edition of the *Chronicle of James I of Aragon* (cf. above, n. 25), p. xxvii.

[121] Balaguer, *op. cit.*, pp. 444 f.

Dominican commission on censorship of Jewish books. It was also seen in a bull of Pope Clement IV, written to King James two or three years later, in which he expressed his consternation at the monarch's continuing to bestow public offices upon the Jews, his toleration of what he called their blasphemies against Christianity, and particularly his allowing Naḥmanides to go unpunished.[122]

What happened then we do not know. Naḥmanides soon left Spain and went to the Holy Land, where he arrived around 1267 and died shortly thereafter. There is no evidence that as a result of the Pope's message King James exiled Naḥmanides from Aragon.[123] It would be satisfying to believe that in light of the Pope's letter the venerable sage voluntarily exiled himself to avoid any demands for the punishment of his people. It would be equally heartening to imagine that he left his beloved Catalonia with the blessing, if not the subvention, of his loyal friend, King James I.

The story of the disputation does not end here. A further complication is introduced by the appearance for the first time, in connection with the publication of Naḥmanides' account, of a Spanish name for the Ramban. Although every previous document, including the Latin protocol, refers to Naḥmanides as Moses, Magister Judeus, or ben Naḥman, and though, a decade and a half after the disputation, the *Pugio Fidei* calls him Moyses filius Nachman, the edict of James I dated April 12, 1265, speaks of the trial of Bonastrugus de Porta, Jewish Master of Gerona. Though there have been some scholars who have asserted that this Bonastrugus or Bonastruc de Porta and Naḥmanides were two different individuals, and that there were therefore two disputations, the identity of the two, maintained by most scholars, cannot seriously be questioned.[124]

This, however, has only led to further confusion, for three royal documents exist, one dated May 29, 1264, and the others February 22, 1265, which deal with the reduction of the sentence of a certain

[122] Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff. (Document from Clement IV dated either 1266 or July 1267.)

[123] I agree with Kayserling that the words in Naḥmanides' letter אני הנבר ראה עניי נליתי פעל שולחני הרחקתי אוהב ורע וכ'ל do not prove that he was exiled from Aragon. M. Kayserling, "Die Disputation des Bonastruc mit Fra Pablo in Barcelona," in *Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, XIV (Breslau, 1865), pp. 312 f.

[124] Kayserling in his aforementioned articles denied the identity of Naḥmanides and Bonastruc. B. Carpzov's claim in his introduction to the *Pugio Fidei* that Paul had debated with a Bonastruc, presumably ours, in Provence, though accepted by Renan (*op. cit.*, pp. 563 f.) has no basis in fact.

Astrug de Porta, "who in a controversy had said something insulting about Jesus Christ."[125] Astrug, the brother of King James' renowned bailiff (*bayle*) Benveniste de Porta, had apparently been fined at least one-third of his estate and exiled from the king's domains or part of his domains. On May 29, 1264, he was residing at Villafranca del Panadés, a peaceful and pleasant town thirty-six miles from Barcelona, which was growing in population and in the affection of the king.[126]

On that day the king lifted Astrug's exile, and restated, or, more likely, limited his fine at one-third of his estate, interpreting most leniently which of his assets were to be considered his estate for the purpose of the penalty.[127] The following February 22 James repeated the remission of the exile and decreed that Astrug was to pay twenty-five hundred Barcelonese *sueldos*, this apparently in lieu of the heavier fine of one-third of his estate. On the same day the king granted Astrug safe conduct and announced a severe penalty for anyone interfering.

This is just about all we know of Astrug de Porta,[128] but it is enough to raise the question as to whether he and Bonastruc are the same person, Naḥmanides. Certainly the details regarding Astrug supply the missing information for Naḥmanides between the time of the debate and the publication of his account of the proceedings.

Scholars have been loath to make the identification. They have been troubled by the difference in the spelling of the name. Yet the name Astrugus (with its variant forms Astruc, Astrug and Astruch) is identical with the name Bonastrugus (with its variant forms Bonastruc, Bonastrug and Bonastruch).[129] They have also pointed to the

[125] The documents are paraphrased by Regné, *op. cit.*, LXI, pp. 10, 18.

[126] See *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* LXVIII (Bilbao-Madrid-Barcelona, 1929?), pp. 1359 f.

[127] . . . cum tercia parte uidelicet dictorum bonorum tuorum quam nobis ratione predicta retinemus ita quod solutis primo debitis que debebas die que uerbum illud dixisti et deductis inde primo similiter dotibus et sponsaliciis uxoris tue et uxorum filiarum (sic!) tuorum et etiam filie tue de residuo omnium bonorum predictorum mobilium et immobilium terciam partem habeamus . . . . J. Jacobs, *An Inquiry into the Sources of the Jews in Spain* (London, 1894), p. 131.

[128] Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 22, lists two documents (Nos. 313 and 314) revealing that Astrug had lent money to the king.

[129] J. Heller, "Astruc," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* III (Berlin, 1929), cols. 607 f. The documents dealing with Bonastruc de Porta use the various spellings. Thus Bonastrugus (-um) is found in the Latin documents; Bonastruc, *inter alia*, in Graetz, *Geschichte*, p. 383 and "Die Disputation," p. 428, as well as in Ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah* (ed. Jerusalem, 1947), p. 102, though in an incorrect context; Bonastrug, in Villanueva, *op. cit.*, XVIII, p. 219; Regné, *op. cit.*, LXI, p. 10; Baer, *Aragonien*, p. 34. The form Bonastruch is found in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, p. 1582,

fact that Astrug is associated with Villafranca del Panadés, while Bonastruc or Naḥmanides is associated only with Gerona. This, too, is easy to explain, because Villafranca del Panadés, a beautiful and peaceful town close to the court and the heart of King James, yet outside the boundaries of Catalonia, would have afforded a logical place for the exile of Naḥmanides. The favorable site for his exile, as well as the gradual remission of Naḥmanides' entire sentence, would accord well with what we have posited as the relationship between the king and Naḥmanides in the disputation. Interestingly, the remission of Naḥmanides' sentence would coincide with James' apparent struggle with the Dominicans, and would make it possible for Naḥmanides to return (safely!) to Gerona in time to write and publish his tract.

The alternative to an identification of Astrug and Bonastruc is the assumption that around the same time in the realm of King James there were two Jews with nearly identical names who became involved in nearly identical discussions, who uttered nearly identical blasphemies against Jesus,[130] and who were both punished by the king with what we would assume to be nearly identical punishments, but cannot know for sure, because when the documents speak of one they are amazingly silent about the other. The assumption of identity is at least simpler.

What made the Disputation of Barcelona possible was the fact that rabbinic literature contained conflicting and contradictory views regarding basic questions of theology. A detractor of Judaism like Paul Christian could thus seize upon an arbitrarily chosen set of such statements, not necessarily reflective of any norm in Judaism, but which could not be denied as valid within the Jewish tradition. The same text of the Talmud and other rabbinic writings could, of course, be invoked to defend against such charges. Paul's advantage, however, was twofold: On the intellectual side it lay in the fact that the congeries of quotations he had selected were often used by Naḥmanides with the connotations Paul ascribed to them. On the institutional side, it lay in the fact that the texts and Paul's approach to them

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and M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* I (Madrid, 1956), p. 714, where it is given as Rabi-ben-Astruch de Porta. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 6, calls Naḥmanides Astrugus da Porta (cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 142). Regné, *op. cit.*, p. 23, mentions an individual named Nastruc.

[130] The document of April 12, 1265, states of Naḥmanides (Bonastruc de Porta) that "in Domini nostri vituperium et totius fidei Catholicae dixerat quaedam verba."

served the purpose of, and therefore received the backing of the elements that conceived and executed the plan of the Disputation.

The Disputation of Barcelona made a deep impression in the history of the Jews. On the other hand, non-Jewish historians of Spain, even those of Catalonia and Aragon, have considered it of sufficiently little moment to pass over it without mention. Its relevance for Jewish history, however, would be minimal if it merely bore witness, as some seem to think, to a Cadmean intellectual victory by a Jewish scholar over a tyro in rabbinical lore. On the other hand, if the direction in which the text and context of the disputation seem to point be correct, its real significance lies in the sobering and useful realization that Jews in Aragon, as Jews elsewhere in all ages throughout history, have been regarded as an element in the political affairs of a country, and have been handled as such, not necessarily for their own hurt, but always for the benefit of the ruling power. And while their heroes have been men of learning, they have not been recluses, but men of practical wisdom as well, who often at great self-sacrifice have fought for their people whatever battle was asked of them, and fought nobly and well.

"MANNER FOR MANNER" IN DANTE

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TO ONE who is familiar with the Jewish doctrine of *Middah Keneged Middah*, "Manner for Manner," the *Divine Comedy* of Dante brings frequent reminders of that Jewish concept. This is the doctrine that, manner for manner, divinely sent rewards and punishments resemble, in various particulars, the conduct which they requite. A certain student of Dante employs, for such resemblances, the term "congruence." Our word also shall be "congruence."[1]

I. The Jewish Background

The formula *Middah Keneged Middah* occurs in the Talmud (Nedarim 32a, Sanhedrin 90a) and in the Midrash (Gen. Rabbah 9:13 and Exod. Rabbah 1:22). The word *Middah* means "a measure." Curiously the Shakespearian title "Measure for Measure" literally translates our phrase.[2] To be preferred, nonetheless, is not the translation "Measure for Measure" but the translation "Manner for Manner." This latter translation accords better with the phrase's varied applications.

An alternative wording is the sentence "As a person measures, so is he measured on high." This lengthier wording stands in Mishnah Soṭah 1:7, in Megillah 12b, and in Mekhilta Beshallaḥ 5:109 and 6:135 in the Lauterbach edition. Thrice in the New Testament the passage occurs, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you"

[1] J. A. Scartazzini, "On the Congruence of Sin and Punishments in Dante's Inferno," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft*, Vol. IV, 1877. Translated by Thekla Barnays in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. 22, January, April, 1888.

[2] The phrase "measure for measure" stands in Act V, Scene 1, line 411 of Shakespeare's play by that name. It also stands in the Third Part of Shakespeare's Henry VI, Act II, Scene 6, line 54. According to the Shakespearian editor, William J. Rolfe, the expression "seems to have been a common phrase." There is cited the pre-Shakespearian publication "A Warning for Fair Women" dating from 1599 in which the lines occur:

> Their triall now remains as shall conclude
> Measure for measure, and lost bloud for bloud.

It was not possible to find any treatment of Shakespeare which noted any precedent Hebrew.

(Matt. 7:2; Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38). The Apocryphal book, The Wisdom of Solomon, (11:16), offers the wording "Wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished," while tantamount to such congruence is the synecdoche in Prov. 26:27,

> Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein;
> And he that rolleth a stone, it shall return upon him.[3]

Such is the formula. But we shall have to distinguish between the formula on the one hand and the illustrations, that is, the applications of the formula, on the other.

Intimations of congruence hover around the *lex talionis* of Exod. 21:23 25, Lev. 24:20, and Deut. 19:21, "eye for an eye" etc. An echo of it reverberates in Gen. 9:6 (like Num. 35:33), "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Of that genre likewise is the punishment for false testimony in Deut. 19:19; the lying witness is to undergo the penalty to which the person against whom he testified was or would have been subjected. Similarly in the Talmud (Makkoth 23a) the whip for inflicting stripes contained two thongs of ass-hide. This recalled the ass in Isa. 1:3, the ass which knows its master's crib. The human wrongdoer does not know "his master's crib." The beast that does know thus contributes, manner for manner, to the punishment of the person that does not know.

Our present study shall not linger in this area. Our inquiry, keeping Dante in mind, shall treat not human rewards and punishments but divine, supernatural, rewards and punishments alleged to supervene upon certain human acts and to be, in some way, shaped according to those acts. An example would be the statement in Lev. 26:34, 35 that, with Israel in exile, the land would obtain those divinely ordained periods of rest for which disobedient Israel had failed to provide. Another instance would lie in Esther 7:10, Haman hanged on the very gallows which he had built for the hanging of Mordecai. In like vein some of the retributions threatened in the Book of Amos repeat some elements of the conduct execrated (Amos 3:15; 5:4, 11; 7:9; 8:3, 10; 9:1). See also Jeremiah 34:17.

In the Apocrypha, II Macc. 9:6 finds it appropriate that Antiochus should have been stricken with an agonizing ailment of the bowels; "he had tormented other men's bowels." II Macc. 13:8 reports the execution of Menelaus by his being plunged into a heap of ashes — a fitting doom for one who had sinned against the altar, a place of sacred ashes. II Macc. 15:30, 32 deems it apt that the executioners

[3] A similar import appears in Ps. 7:16; 9:16; 10:2b; 57:7b.

chopped off the hand of Nicanor; he had stretched out that hand against the holy temple.[4] The Wisdom of Solomon 18:5 sees a congruence between the drowning of the Hebrew infants and the subsequent death of the Egyptian first-born. It also reports (11:15) that people who worshipped wild beasts were punished by an onrush of wild beasts, and that the dissolute and the unrighteous were, by divine action, "tormented with their own abominations" (12:23).

Several congruences appear in the Mishnah, especially in Soṭah 1:7–9. The first example is based on Num. 5:11 13 where the Bible alludes to a woman suspected of adultery. The Mishnah alters this into the case of a woman concerning whose adultery there has ceased to be any doubt.

According to the Mishnah, the woman, to compass her aims, made herself attractive; God, by the procedure in Num. 5, makes the woman repellent. She exposed herself with evil intent; through the ordeal described in Num. 5, God exposes her to ignominy. When Num. 5:21 uses the words "the Lord doth make thy thigh to fall away and thy belly to swell," the parts of the body mentioned and the sequence in which they are mentioned are identical with the parts of the body and the sequence occurring in the sin.

The Mishnah then refers to Samson. Samson lusted with his eyes; his eyes were gouged out by the Philistines. Absalom prided himself on his long hair; caught in the branch of a tree by his hair, Absalom was dispatched by his pursuers. Absalom deceived his father, the law court, and the nation — all three; Absalom was pierced by three darts (II Sam. 18:14). The ten lances which ended Absalom's life (II Sam. 18:15) were the retribution for his intimacy with his father's ten concubines (II Sam. 16:22).[5]

Elsewhere in the Mishnah the congruence occurs that one who fraudulently obtains charity will eventually get to be in actual need of charity (Peah 8:9). If, as a charity imposter, a person pretends to be lame or blind or crippled, that person will, by and by, actually become thus afflicted (Peah 8:9). Avoth 2:7 contains the utterance of Hillel that they who drown others will themselves be drowned.

Also the Gemara handles the theme. The congruences pondered

[4] See also I Macc. 7:47.

[5] To these Jewish congruences could be applied what has been said about passages from Dante: "The straining of the irrelevant coincidence is very characteristic of Dante," John Addington Symonds, *An Introduction to the Study of Dante* (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 47. "Then that fine sense of remote analogies, awake to the assonance between facts seemingly remote and unrelated," James Russell Lowell, *Among My Books*, Second Series (Boston, 1883), p. 41.

in Mishnah Soṭah 1:7 are extended in Soṭah 8b, 9a. The adulteress stood at the door of her home to entice her paramour; the priest, God's agent, places her at the door of the sanctuary where all can gaze upon her shame. To make herself attractive she had worn upon her head a lovely kerchief; the priest removes her hairband and casts it beneath her feet. She had used beauty aids upon her face; her face now turns green. She had painted her eyelids; now her eyes bulge. For her paramour she had loosened her hair; by the priest, acting for God, her hair is now disheveled. She had motioned to her paramour with her finger; her fingernails now fall away. She had girded herself with an ornate belt; God, acting through the priest, ties a coarse rope above her breast. Against her paramour she had pressed her thigh; her thigh now decays. She had placed against him her abdomen; her abdomen is now to swell. She had regaled him with dainties; her ritual offering, prescribed in Num. 5:15, is stuff which one feeds to beasts. With splendid cups she treated her paramour to delicious wine; from an earthen potsherd she must now drink the bitter water. She had acted secretly; God now openly publishes her disgrace.

Rosh Hashanah 12a, alluding to the generation of the flood, observed that, having sinned by their hot passions, they were overwhelmed by hot water. Megillah 12b alleges that the banquet guests of King Ahasuerus asked to see how Vashti looked when naked; such was Vashti's penalty for having forced Jewish women to work naked on the Sabbath. Sanhedrin 90a invokes *Middah Keneged Middah* when it contends that whoso denies the resurrection will have no part in the resurrection. The same passage cites, as a case of congruence, the official in II Kings 7:2,17 who, amid the starvation caused by the siege, disputed Elisha's prediction that, on the morrow, food would be plentiful. Before that official could partake of that abundance, he had to stand guard at the city's gate where he was crushed to death by the surging crowd. Soṭah 11a regards the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea as the sequel to the drowning of the Hebrew infants. The Egyptians, we learn, "were boiled in the kettle which they themselves had used for boiling."

Also the Midrash represents the drowning of the Egyptians at the Red Sea as the penalty for the drowning of the infants (Exod. Rabbah 1:22 and 22:1). Mekhilta Beshallaḥ 7, lines 5 ff. contains the passage declaring that Israel's oppressors will be punished by the same devices that they have employed to bring about Israel's destruction. Tanḥuma, Shemini 5 contains the fanciful turn, "Drink not wine (*yayin*) whose numerical value is seventy, and thou wilt not be summoned to appear before the seventy" (the Sanhedrin). Though this could refer to some

human jurisprudence, it could also refer to a penalty supernaturally ordained. Recalling Mishnah Peah 8:9 quoted above, the *Sefer Ḥasidim* relates an instance of malingering in which a charity impostor, who had feigned illness, was soon overtaken by illness, manner for manner (Bologna Text 318, Parma Text 858, 859).

There are not only congruences of punishment; there are also congruences of reward. According to the Apocryphal Tobit, God's face will not be turned from him who turns not his face from the necessitous (Tob. 4:7). Giving alms — such seems to be the sense of Tob. 4:11, as rendered in the twelfth century Hebrew of Fagius — earns for the giver a congruent gift from the Most High. II Esd. 2:23 feels certain that burying the dead assures one a forward rank in God's resurrection of the dead. Among the Pseudepigrapha the thought appears in The Testament of Zebulon 8:1 where Zebulon instructs his children that the compassion which they exhibit toward others will win for them the compassion of God. Zebulon himself is divinely favored with an abundance of fish because he would divide his catch of fish with the needy (Test. Zebulon 6:6, 7). The Pseudepigraphic Enoch maintains that one evades misfortune if one mitigates the misfortune of others (II Enoch 51:1), and that whoever expends treasure "for his brother's sake" will receive copious treasure in the world to come (II Enoch 50:5).

The Mishnah, Soṭah 1:7-9, harbors a similar persuasion. Miriam waited near the river's brink, watchful over the infant Moses (Exod. 2:4); the entire encampment of Israel waited seven days until Miriam could recover from her leprosy (Num. 12:15). Joseph, the greatest of his generation, concerned himself with the transport of his father's remains from Egypt to Canaan (Gen. 50:7); Moses, the greatest of a later generation, did the same for Joseph (Exod. 13:19). The Supreme Being Himself, in turn, looked after the interment of Moses (Deut. 34:6). Peah 8:9 advances the thought that, if a person, though in need of charity, forgoes the help, that person will, in due time, attain the reward of becoming a charity giver.

Nedarim 32a uses the words *Middah Keneged Middah* with reference to one who abstains from the practice of divining by means of snakes; such a one is admitted to the compartment on high from which even the ministrant angels are excluded. In other words, to such a one, the divine secrets become, manner for manner, revealed in all their amplitude. Shabbath 97a anticipates that, to one who gives generously to the poor, God will give generously in the hereafter.

Numerous samples of congruence, some of them strikingly ingenious, can be found in the *Me'il Ẓedaḳah* compiled by Elijah ben

Solomon Abraham of Smyrna and published at Smyrna in 1731, a second edition appearing at Lemberg in 1859. Of this production, the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, volume XI, contains a survey. Congruences abound in that survey on pp. 525–49 which enumerate the divine rewards awaiting deeds of benevolence, and on pp. 553–55 which enumerate the punishments in store for lack of benevolence.

II. Congruences in the Text of Dante

That the *Divine Comedy* abounds in congruences is a commonplace of Dante scholarship. To quote only one of numerous utterances on that head:

> The congruence must be found between the sin and the landscape in which it is punished, between the sin and the elements which punish it, between the sin and the animal which represents it, between the sin and the action, posture, even shape and bodily condition of the man in the Circle. Then the study of the congruences really is the study of the artistic structure of the Inferno.[6]

Yet when we pass from the Jewish congruences to those of Dante we pass from the simple to the complex. Nowhere in Dante is there to be found a formulation like the Hebrew *Middah Keneged Middah*. The *Divine Comedy* proffers illustration only. Like the Hebrew, it has many congruences that are punitive, and not so many connected with rewards. But, unlike that domain in Judaism, the *Divine Comedy* is submerged in an ocean of interpretation. We have to reckon not only with the congruences explicited in the text, but also with those imputed to the text by the commentators.

The *Divine Comedy* mentions the brazen bull in which, according to Greek mythology, a tyrant would roast his victims. The first to perish in the bull was its own artificer. The *Divine Comedy* avers that "the Sicilian bull bellowed justly with the cry of him who shaped it."[7]

[6] Denton J. Snider, *Dante's Inferno* (St. Louis, 1892), p. 149. Another author writes: "Dante hat die Idee des *contrapasso*, der angemessenen Vergeltung, systematisch durchdacht und alle ihre Moeglichkeiten ausgeschoept, sie psychologisch und aesthetisch verfeinert," Hermann Gmelin, *Die Goettliche Komoedie* (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 14–15. *Contrapasso*, the last word in Inferno, Canto XXVIII, is the Italian equivalent of "congruence." Another author writes: "Principles of justice . . . one of the chief of these, as regards penalties, is that of counterpassion, that is, that the penalty should be of the same sort as the injury inflicted," Allan H. Gilbert, *Dante's Conception of Justice* (Duke University Press, 1925), p. 76.

[7] Inf. XXVII, 7. Inf. abbreviates "Inferno," Purg. abbreviates "Purgatorio,"

There is allusion to Arachne of Greek mythology, a woman notably skilled at weaving. For challenging the goddess Minerva to a weaving contest, Arachne was changed into a spider, the weaving insect.[8]

There is reference to a Queen Tomyris who is quoted as saying to King Cyrus: "Thou didst thirst for blood, and with blood I fill thee."[9] Having defeated and slain Cyrus in war, Tomyris spoke those words as she dipped the head of Cyrus into a container filled with human gore. The son of Tomyris had been one of Cyrus' victims.

These are samples which, like the Jewish samples,[10] range within our present life. But most of Dante's instances are assigned to the life beyond. Dante's Hell has persons boiling in a river of blood because on earth they had shed blood.[11] Some evil doers stick in holes, head downward, their legs stretching out above them. These are the simonists guilty of buying or selling ecclesiastical privileges. One of these declares that, having on earth pursed his gains, here he "purses" himself.[12]

At a barrator who, doubled up, tries to emerge from that boiling stream, the demons yell: "The Holy Face is not for thee."[13] The Holy Face refers to a crucifix in the cathedral at Lucca, the city in which the barrator had lived. The barrator had, when on earth, made obeisance to that statue, hoping thereby to enhance his reputation. Doubled up, he is now "mocked by the devils as if he were still, by force of habit, bowing to the Holy Face."[14] Bowing attached to his wrongdoing; bowing figures in his torment.

In Hell suicides turn up as trees the leaves of which are being devoured by Harpies. The result is that, in the future, when the suicides rise from their graves, various parts of their bodies will be missing. The suicide, having robbed himself of his flesh, will find himself robbed of his flesh when it comes to the resurrection.[15]

Those who had been sullen on earth are immersed in an infernal mud which forces them to prove exceptionally sullen in Hell.[16]

Far down in the depths of Inferno, Dante perceives a doomed spirit chewing the neck of another doomed spirit, a Count Ugolino chewing

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and Par. abbreviates "Paradiso." The Roman numeral specifies the canto; the Arabic numeral specifies the line.

[8] Purg. XII, 44. Explained in *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, by John D. Sinclair (New York, 1948), note 1 to Inf. XVII, 18.

[9] Purg. XII, 56. Cf. Rev. 16:16.

[10] Excepting the passage *supra*, p. 197 quoted from Shabbath 97a, and II Enoch 50.

[11] Inf. XII, 47, 104.

[12] Inf. XIX, 43, 72.

[13] Inf. XXI, 38, 46, 48, 49.

[14] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 280.

[15] Inf. XIII, 100, 105.

[16] Inf. VII, 121–124.

the neck of Archbishop Ruggieri. Because of the Archbishop, the Count, together with his children, had died of starvation. Imprisoned in a tower, they had, by the Archbishop's orders, been deprived of food. The crime involved eating; the punishment involves eating.[17]

Violence gets its retribution in three infernal rounds because violence affects three persons: God, oneself, and one's neighbor.[18] Someone, who delayed his repentance to the end of his life, has to remain in Purgatory for a period as long as his life. Only then can he enter Paradise.[19] One who had cast slurs upon the Church has to sojourn in Purgatory thirty years "for every year he spent in his presumption."[20]

Among those harassed in Hell are the giants of Greek mythology who had laid siege to Heaven. One of them stands with his arms pinioned by a chain wound to a fifth coil around him. Once he plied those arms against the empyrean; those arms he now no longer moves.[21] The biblical Nimrod, when met in Hell, babbles senseless words. Nimrod is understood to have designed the Tower of Babel. He rendered the speech of others meaningless;[22] his own speech has become meaningless. Caiaphas and Annas, whom Christianity blames for the crucifixion of Jesus, are seen in Hell lying on the ground nailed to crosses.[23] Divine justice *stings* Attila who had been a *scourge* on earth.[24] In Purgatory blindness afflicts eyes which have cast looks of envy.[25]

III. The Evanescence of Punishment

As we continue to list the congruences of the *Divine Comedy* we become aware of a further complication. It dawns upon us that the sin on the one hand and the punishment on the other are not always separate and distinct entities. The dividing line between them tends to fade. The two tend to merge.[26] Often the punishment is but a metaphor that pictures the wrongdoing.[27]

[17] Inf. XXXII, 129; XXXIII, 13, 14, 23 ff.
[18] Inf. XI, 30.
[19] Purg. IV, 130.
[20] Purg. III, 138.
[21] Inf. XXXI, 88, 90.
[22] Inf. XXXI, 67, 68.
[23] Inf. XXIII, 111, 115, 121.
[24] Inf. XII, 133, 134.
[25] Purg. XIII, 133.
[26] "Chaque supplice est pris dans la nature du crime qu'il punit," Rivarol, *Etude sur Dante*, in *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Boston and New York, 1895), p. 719. "Between the sin and its punishment lies a certain equation," Denton J. Snider, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
[27] "In so representing each punishment as an allegory, Dante is obliged to adapt each one to the sin involved," Allan H. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

A certain division of Inferno encloses persons who are woefully mutilated and dismembered. One is seen with his throat pierced, and one with his nose cut off. One lacked an ear; one lacked both hands. One consisted of a trunk without a head; he carried his head swinging in his hand like a lantern. These wrongdoers are thus cloven because on earth they had been "sowers of scandal and schism."[28] They are literally torn to pieces in Hell because they had figuratively torn communities to pieces on earth. The identical words which, when taken literally, describe the punishment are, at the same time, words which, when taken figuratively, describe the sin. The *Divine Comedy* often resorts to that device.

One of the damned who had, while on earth, fomented a rebellion, appears with his brain parted from the rest of his body. He laments: "Because I parted those so joined, I carry my brain, alas, parted from its root in this trunk."[29] The retribution and the sin are one and the same. The retribution is but the sin metaphorized.

Diviners undergo their punishment in Hell by being forced to walk about with their faces toward their rear and the backs of their heads toward their front. "Because he would see too far ahead, he looks behind and makes his way backwards."[30] Again the requital, with a slight inversion, entails a metaphorization of the iniquity.

Why spendthrifts, when they rise from the grave, are to show up with cropped hair, one can understand when one learns of the Italian proverb which speaks of the prodigal as spending "even to the hair of his head."[31] Similarly the parsimonious are to rise from the grave with closed fists.[32] They were figuratively close-fisted during their stay on earth; they are literally closefisted in their doom.

If we know that horns are traditionally associated with adultery,[33] we recognize figurative usage and then literal usage in the passage which describes how, in Hell, adulterers are scourged by horned demons.[34] Those horns, taken figuratively, are the wrongdoing; taken literally they are the painful reckoning.

Those who on earth were figuratively blown about by their sexual cravings are, in the hereafter, buffeted by the literal blasts of Inferno.[35] The reverse is the affliction of those in Purgatory who lie on the ground, their faces downward. These are the ones who were possessed by

[28] Inf. XXVIII, 35, 64, 65, 66, 103, 119, 122.
[29] Inf. XXVIII, 136, 139, 140.
[30] Inf. XX, 12, 38.
[31] Inf. VII, 57; Purg. XXII, 46. Sinclair *op. cit.*, Inf. p. 105, note 4.
[32] Inf. VII, 30, 37.
[33] Sinclair *op. cit.* Inf. p. 235.
[34] Inf. XVIII, 35.
[35] Inf. V, 31, 38.

avarice. Their eyes, which had been metaphorically fixed on earthly things, are now literally fixed downward. Purgatory holds them literally inactive, just as their avarice had rendered them figuratively inactive with regard to commendable deeds on earth.[36]

When a commentator writes: "It is easily seen in many instances how the punishment which the poet assigns to a sin is only an expression of the sin," we can readily concur.[37]

Further in accordance with this are the instances in which the punishment is the sin continued.[38] A blasphemer who had, when living, raged against heaven, continues his raging in Hell and is told that "no torment but thy raving would be pain to match thy fury."[39] Those who, treacherous on earth, had been vilifying one another, continue vilifying one another down below.[40] Those whom "anger overcame" on earth continue in Hell "smiting each other not only with the hand but with the head and breast and feet and tearing each other piecemeal with their teeth."[41] As regards the spendthrifts and the close-fisted, Dante is told that "the undiscerning life, that made them foul, now makes them obscure to all discernment."[42] The reference is to their rolling of weights to a given point and then back to where they started. Their earthly shortcoming, lack of discernment, is punished by a protraction of that shortcoming into the beyond. Regarding the giants fettered in Hell for having assaulted Olympus, we are advised that those giants are "still passionate and tormented by their old pretensions."[43] Gazing forever at their moneybags are those in Hell who had on earth made illicit use of their moneybags – usurers, we are told.[44]

IV. Alleged Congruences

Our study of the congruences in the *Divine Comedy* would be incomplete were we to stop with the congruences explicated in the text. Commentators see manifestations of manner for manner at various points

[36] Purg. XIX, 19, 72, 115, 118, 122, 124.

[37] "It is easily seen in many instances how the punishment which the poet assigns to a sin is only an expression of the sin," Karl Witte quoted in Scartazzini *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[38] "Il est puni par où il a péché," Alphonse de Lamartine, *Notes Sur Le Dante*. in Longfellow *op. cit.*, p. 720.

[39] Inf. XIV, 65.

[40] Inf. XXXIII, 137, 144.

[41] Inf. VII, 112, 116.

[42] Inf. VII, 29, 54.

[43] Inf. XXXI, 45, 67, 103. Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 391.

[44] Inf. XVII, 55–63, 73.

where the text calls no attention to such. These comments, among other things, add to the repertoire of passages in which the punishment becomes identical with the sin.

Alchemists in Hell suffer from leprosy.[45] A commentator observes that "the squalid trickery of sin corresponds with the traditional uncleanness of the disease."[46] The lepers sit endlessly scratching themselves. This is said to represent the alchemists' "endless, fruitless, sordid activity in deception."[47] Assuming that the commentator is giving us an interpretation of Dante and not a homily of his own, the leprosy which signifies, in its literal sense, the punishment, signifies, in its metaphorical sense, the transgression.

Among the "sowers of scandal and schism," there appears in Hell one with "his throat pierced, his nose cut off . . . and only one ear."[48] His windpipe is "all red outside."[49] A commentator notes that the wrongdoer is "punished in the throat through which he uttered his slanders, the nose which he thrust into other people's business, and the ear with which he listened for their secrets." He "has lost the use of his tongue which he once sold to the highest bidder."[50] One who goes about in Hell with both hands cut off, lifts the stumps "so that the blood befouled his face."[51] The commentator points out that this reprobate "having in life raised his hand and the hands of many others in bloodshed . . . is now handless" and his own blood befouls him.[52] It may be that the commentator is elucidating the sense of the poet, but it may also be that the commentator is using the text to preach a sermon of his own.

With regard to the blasphemers heard in Hell lamenting,[53] a commentator — not the text — declares that these blasphemers "having been loud-mouthed against God . . . are loudest now in their cries of pain."[54] If flatterers, after reaching Hell, are steeped in filth, it is, according to a commentator, because flattery is itself a thing of filth.[55]

A counterfeiter shows up in Hell shaped like a lute because of "the heavy dropsy which disproportions the members by the ill

[45] Inf. XXIX, 49, 59, 75, 107, 119, 124, 134, 137.
[46] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 368.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Inf. XXVIII, 65, 66.
[49] Inf. XXVIII, 69.
[50] Sinclair *op. cit.* Inf. p. 356.
[51] Inf. XXVIII, 103.
[52] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 357.
[53] XIV, 20, 27, 69, 70.
[54] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 189.
[55] Inf. XVIII, 114, 125. Gilbert, *op. cit.* p. 95.

disposal of the humors."[56] A commentator suggests that "the trunk stuffed with humors and the head disproportionately small" typify the material advantages which the sinner had "sucked up during his lifetime."[57] Assuming the interpretation to be correct, the sin metaphorically and the punishment literally are depicted by one and the same imagery.

A thief is beset in Hell by a serpent in such wise that the thief and the serpent become blended into a composite which is not man and not serpent but a hideous blending of the two.[58] This, according to the commentary, signifies the "mutual dispossession and the bad faith of a thieving society."[59] In the serpent with its "subtlety, furtiveness, malice and deadliness" thieving has its "most obvious and effective image."[60] Again, if the commentary can be trusted, a sin metaphorically set forth incurs a penalty set forth in the same words taken literally.

Barrators in Hell are forced by demons to keep beneath the surface of a river of boiling pitch.[61] We are reminded by a commentary that barratry "works under the surface and *sticks* to men."[62] If that was really the poet's intent, the metaphorical sense of the words again names the iniquity while the literal sense specifies the punishment.

False counselors are concealed in tongues of flame;[63] on earth they had concealed what was in their thoughts.[64] The commentator reminds us that fire is associated with the tongue[65] in the Epistle of James 3:5, 6. If this be the poet's intent, the metaphorical fire stands for the false counselor's misdeed, the literal fire for his retribution. The opposite of these flames is the iciness of the region which punishes treachery.[66] We are apprised, correctly or incorrectly, that "treachery, the sin of cold blood . . . is its own penalty in the numbing, hardening and disabling of the soul. These souls are held clamped in ice."[67] Literal iciness in the hereafter would then be requital for that which was metaphorical iciness on earth.

If, in Purgatory, the eyes of the envious are wired shut, this affliction, according to the commentary, besets their eyes because

[56] Inf. XXX, 44, 49, 73, 89, 111.
[57] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 380.
[58] Inf. XXV, 71, 76, 101.
[59] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 316.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] Inf. XVIII, 35; XXI, 17, 41, 53; XXII, 53, 95.
[62] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 279.
[63] Inf. XXVI, 42, 48, 58, 89; XXVII, 24, 59.
[64] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. p. 330.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 329.
[66] Inf. XXXIII, 91, 109, 135, 147.
[67] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf. pp. 414, 415.

envy is a sin committed with the eyes.[68] Another name for envy is "the evil eye." *Invidia*, the Latin for "envy" is derived from *in* and *videre*, "to see." Again the sin is designated in figurative language, while the literal sense of the same passage describes the penance.

With regard to the lurid color of the stone in that part of Purgatory which detains the envious,[69] we are apprised that the color of the stone and the traditional color of envy are the same.[70] Similarly in that region of Inferno which confines the fraudulent, the stones have the color of iron.[71] That color, we learn, "tells of the hardening and the moral insensibility" which the practice of fraud induces.[72] Again the metaphorical sense of the passage for the sin; the literal sense for the doom. Such at least follows if the interpretations given in the commentary are valid.

Hypocrites undergoing chastisement appear in Hell as painted people. They wear gilded cloaks, outwardly dazzling yet, on the inside, leaden and heavy.[73] A commentator informs us that, in a Latin dictionary which Dante probably knew, the word "hypocrite" is taken to mean "gilded over."[74] They who were figuratively painted people on earth become literally painted people in the hereafter. The heavy leaden cloaks worn by the hypocrites cause them weariness and slowness. "This," says our commentator, "emphasizes the extreme tiresomeness of hypocricy . . . all their manhood is exhausted in keeping up appearance."[75] If the commentator is right, the literal condition in the beyond is anticipated figuratively by the deportment in the flesh.

It is of like tenor when a commentator notes that Cerberus the gluttonous dog yelps over the gluttonous in the third circle of Inferno[76] and that, in this circle, hail and snow may be taken as symbols of food, and rain as a symbol of drink;[77] that heretics are in tombs because they denied a hereafter beyond the tomb;[78] that, in Hell, usurers who never worked but who made others work for them, sit appropriately crouching on the ground;[79] that the ditch of the

[68] Purg. XIII, 37, 38, 70, 110, 133. Sinclair, *op. cit.* Purg., p. 179.
[69] Purg. XIII, 9, 37, 48.
[70] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Purg., p. 179.
[71] Inf. XVIII, 2.
[72] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf., p. 234.
[73] Inf. XXIII, 58, 64, 72.
[74] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf., p. 291.
[75] Inf. XXIII, 70. Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf., p. 291.
[76] Inf. VI, 28. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[77] Inf. VI, 10, 19, 35, 54, 101. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[78] Inf. IX, 118, 127, 128, 129. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[79] Inf. XVII, 35, 59, 73. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

barrators is dark, inasmuch as "it is easy to sneak and whisper in the dark";[80] and that, punished by means of snakes, are "the wily thieves, who creep up unawares, after the manner of snakes";[81] and that, among the false counselors, "the tongue so much in haste to speak fatal words is now paralyzed and can only stammer with pain and effort."[82]

We are further informed that the icy punishment of the traitors "typifies the absolute coldness of heart from which love has fled."[83] With regard to the descent down the precipice from the seventh circle of Hell down to the eighth circle, we are admonished that, "the habit of deception, taking possession of a soul, softly, stealthily carries it down and down and down."[84]

These interpretative comments discern additional instances in which the penalty is the sin continued. Referring to the three faces of Satan and to the statement that "in each mouth he crushed a sinner with his teeth" — the sinners being the notorious scoundrels, Judas Iscariot of Christian lore, and Brutus and Cassius of Roman lore — a commentary maintains that, since Satan is the embodiment of all evil forces, "it is the sin itself that is the imprisonment and the torment."[85] If that comment is valid, the continuation of the sinfulness into the next world constitutes, manner for manner, the requital.

Apropos the incessant ravages of the Harpies among the trees into which the suicides had been transmuted,[86] a commentator asserts that "the Hell of the suicides is suicide itself repeated every moment to eternity."[87]

One commentary notes that the region in Purgatory, which deals with the slothful, is the only one of the seven terraces in Purgatory on which there is heard no prayer.[88] The omission, we are apprised, is not accidental. These have been the people whose "little love" has incapacitated them for prayer. That prayerlessness continued into Purgatory belongs to their penance.

[80] Inf. XXI, 6, 41. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[81] Inf. XXIV, 82, 138. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Cf. our note 59.

[82] Inf. XXVI, 85. Scartazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[83] Inf. XXXII, 23, 27, 38, 47, 53, 71, 125. C. H. Grandgent, *Dante* (New York, 1916), p. 355.

[84] Inf. XVII. Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

[85] Inf. XXXIV, 38, 55, 65, 67. Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf., p. 430. The passage is another instance in which the situation, taken literally, constitutes the punishment — taken metaphorically constitutes the transgression.

[86] Inf. XIII, 100.

[87] F. De Sanctis, quoted in Sinclair, *op. cit.* Inf., p. 176.

[88] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Purg. 242. Purg. XVIII, 104.

These comments go so far as to proffer an additional kind of congruence, that of punishment which consists of sin remembered. In the division of Inferno which torments blasphemers, Dante misses the river Lethe, the stream of forgetfulness. Virgil, his escort, apprises him that Lethe is "beyond this abyss."[89] Manner for manner, if we follow the commentator, the sin is punished by the remembrance of the sin.[90]

Some of the interpreters believe that congruences obtain in all the punishments and penances whether the text spotlights the congruence or not.[91] It is recalled that, according to Dante himself, "the work is to be interpreted in a literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical sense."[92] This leaves the question nonetheless unanswered whether the cryptic meanings imputed by the commentator are identical with the cryptic meanings intended by the poet. The suspicion haunts one that often the commentator, instead of elucidating the poem, is merely quoting passages of the poem as texts for his own homilies.

V. Rewards According to Manner for Manner

The operations of manner for manner are not always sinister. There are not only congruences of punishment; there are also congruences of rewards. The *Divine Comedy* reports that, in the sphere of Mars, named after the Roman god of war, lies the heavenly abode of Judah Maccabee, of Charlemagne, and of others who had meritoriously waged war.[93] In heaven there stands a chair surmounted by a crown. That chair awaits Emperor Henry IV who, while on earth, had worthily worn his crown.[94]

On one of the levels of Paradise Dante perceives some radiant lights. These lights are persons who once lived on earth as authors, thinkers,

[89] Inf. XIV, 62, 131, 136.

[90] Gmelin, *op. cit.*, p. 23; "Das Bewusstsein der Suende lebt ewigquaelend weiter."

[91] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 353, says: "Every punishment is a picture of some kind of wickedness." Another author maintains: "The greater part of the punishments of the Inferno are symbolical of the crimes for which they are inflicted," Longfellow, *op. cit.*, p. 488, translating from the German of *The Divina Commedia* by Schelling. The same has been asserted of the punishments which consist of a continuation of the sin. "Im besonderen leben alle Leidenschaften weiter . . . als ein Mittel der Strafe, ein gesteigertest ewiges Verharren in der Unart des irdischen Suendenlebens," Hermann Gmelin, *Die Goettliche Komoedie*, p. 16.

[92] Lowell, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[93] Par. XIV, 87, 101; XVIII, 40.

[94] Par. XXX, 133.

and teachers.[95] Metaphorical light-givers on earth, they became literally light-givers on high. Among those lights shines Rahab commemorated in Josh. 2:1; 6:17, 23, 25. Rahab had attained that eminence because "she favored Joshua's first glory in the Holy Land."[96] Our dictionaries, defining the word "glory," employ such terms as "splendor," "brightness," "nimbus," "radiance." May that not be the import likewise of Dante's word "gloria"? If so, Rahab, of metaphorical radiance during her lifetime, becomes of literal radiance in the world to come.

Placed in the highest of the heavens are those who had, on earth, devoted much time to contemplation.[97] We are reminded that the medieval Church regarded the contemplative life as life of the highest kind.[98] According to this, the literally highest position in heaven rewards the figuratively highest status on earth. How obviously manner for manner!

In Paradise there are those whose affections "can never be warped by any evil."[99] We are given to understand that these are the ones who had, on earth, exemplified "wholly disinterested public service."[100] What they were on earth is, manner for manner, blessedly continued on high. Those who, though at times thwarted by circumstances, sought in the present world to do God's will, possess in Heaven perfect conformity to His will.[101] Justinian, to whom mankind owes "the boon of world-order and peace," is in Paradise "still subject to the Primal Love . . ."[102] that moved him to his task on earth."[103] The peace which Saint Bernard enjoys in Paradise is identical with that peace which, on earth, that saint had won by his life of meditation.[104] All of which bespeaks manner for manner.

VI. Moral Rectification According to Manner for Manner

Dante surveys yet a third area of congruences, an area neither of punishments nor of rewards but that of moral betterment. Various features of Purgatory are designed neither to afflict nor to gratify but to change its denizens from sinfulness to righteousness.

[95] Par. VIII, 19; IX, 113, 114; X, 64, 94.
[96] Par. IX, 116, 124, 125.
[97] Par. XXI, 40, 117.
[98] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Par., p. 311.
[99] Par. VI, 112, 123.
[100] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Par., p. 96.
[101] Par. III, 51, 80, 107, 115.
[102] Par. VI, 10.
[103] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Par., p. 97.
[104] Par. XXXI, 111.

In that region of Purgatory which deals with vainglory, walls are inlaid with carvings that depict noteworthy acts of humility such, for example, as David dancing before the ark.[105] A roadway in that region is overlaid with scenes from the life of Nimrod, of Rehoboam, of Holofernes, and others who fell from their eminence because of their self-adulation.[106]

In that region where gluttony is effaced, a voice is audible referring to the frugality of Daniel, of John the Baptist, and of similar examplars, and a voice resounds which freshens our memory of unhappy historical instances of unrestrained appetite.[107]

On that stratum of Purgatory where souls are purified from lust, there is heard a hymn quoted from that part of the liturgy which petitions against lust.[108] Similarly, with regard to avarice, there is an area of Purgatory in which Dante learns that "what avarice does is here declared for the purging of converted souls."[109] The manner of the betterment parallels the manner of the flaw.

Moral improvement is also achieved by recitation. Where sloth is wiped out, the penitents rehearse examples of that fervor which is the opposite of sloth.[110] Those who had, in their earthly existence, been affected with lust "cried out of wives and husbands who were chaste as virtuous wedlock requires." They shouted and they sang about various historical instances of sexual restraint.[111] Homosexuals dwell upon historical instances of their vice.[112]

There occurs also reforming by doing. At the level of Purgatory which processes envy, penitents are seen supporting one another with their shoulders.[113] Having on earth "looked meanly, ungraciously, at men, they now practice fellowship together."[114] In the division of Purgatory which cleanses from sexual excess, the shades kiss one another.[115] A commentary identifies this with the "holy kiss" of Rom. 16:16; I Cor. 16:20 and elsewhere in the New Testament. We are advised that "it is only by the practice of pure affections that the foul are overcome."[116] Here, as in the other connections, we must

[105] Purg. X, 31, 65, 98.
[106] Purg. XII, 28–64.
[107] Purg. XXII, 142–154; XXIV, 123 ff.
[108] Purg. XXV, 121.
[109] Purg. XIX, 115.
[110] Purg. XVIII, 100 ff.
[111] Purg. XXV, 128 ff., 135.
[112] Purg. XXVI, 77.
[113] Purg. XII, 38, 59.
[114] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Purg. 179.
[115] Purg. XXVI, 32.
[116] Sinclair, *op. cit.* Purg., p. 345.

allow that the commentator is interpreting Dante and not merely propounding his own ideas under the guise of explaining the poem.

Other disciplinary measures illustrating manner for manner appear in the purging of gluttony. In Purgatory there grows a tree with luscious fruit, but a voice calls out: "You may not eat of this fruit." The gluttons are racked with hunger, but we are assured that "having followed their appetites beyond measure," they "regain here in hunger and thirst their holiness."[117] Where pride is corrected, the penitents are so laden with stones that they walk bent down. One of them testifies that he must bear this load among the dead since he neglected to do so among the living.[118] Where sloth is healed, the penitents are kept running. That running betokens a zeal in well-doing which they failed to exemplify in the flesh.[119] How obviously the manner of the correction follows the manner of the defect![120]

VII. Summation

Was Dante influenced by Jewish precedents?[121] Those Jewish precedents, as we have noted, exhibit two distinct features. They contain the formula, "manner for manner." They also furnish illustrations of the formula. The *Divine Comedy* nowhere offers the formula. Yet Dante must certainly have been conversant with the formula. His acquaintance with Rabbinics may have been scant.[122] But he was at home in the New Testament where the formula stands no fewer than three times.[123] He was also conversant with the Jewish Apocrypha. James Russell Lowell surmises that The Wisdom of Solomon may have been the book from which "Dante got the hint of making his

[117] Purg. XXII, 131, 132, 141; XXIII, 22, 36, 65, 68; XXIV, 28.

[118] Purg. X, 116, 119, 136; XI, 52, 53, 72.

[119] Purg. XVIII, 97, 105, 107, 108.

[120] "The punishment in each rung is a symbol of the discipline one must endure to correct the respective vice," Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

[121] "Some attempt at this had been made in the older versions of hell, as when the avaricious are punished with molten gold, the lustful are forced to lie on burning beds, and the gluttons are fed with loathsome reptiles," Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[122] "We believe that Dante, though he did not understand Greek, knew something of Hebrew. He would have been likely to study it as the sacred language, and opportunities of profiting by the help of learned Jews could not have been wanting to him in his wanderings," Lowell, *op. cit.*, p. 111, footnote. A résumé of Hebrew or quasi-Hebrew references in the *Divine Comedy* stands in the article, "Manoello Et Le Dante," by David Kaufman in *Révue Des Études Juives*, Vol. 37 (1898), p. 255. Cf. Par. XXVI, 134, 136.

[123] *Supra* pp. 193, 194, Matt. 7:2; Mark 2:24; Luke 6:38.

punishments and penances typical of the sins that earned them."[124] In The Wisdom of Solomon the formula "Manner for Manner" is to be found at Chapter 11 verse 16. Still, none of these induced Dante to articulate the formula in the *Divine Comedy*.

But, if the Jewish formula did not prompt Dante to employ the formula, may it not have inspired his illustrations of the formula? That question we are unable to answer.

It is by no means unlikely that Jewish illustrations may have begotten some of Dante's illustrations. We have referred to the illustrative examples in the Bible and in the Apocrypha. Particularly rich in illustrative matter is the Apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon mentioned by James Russell Lowell.[125]

Manner for manner is an elaboration of the belief in supernatural rewards and punishments. Thoughtful minds have long recognized that the doctrine of supernatural rewards and punishments collides with the facts of experience. The untenability of that doctrine is conceded in the Book of Ecclesiastes,[126] while the quandaries occasioned by the doctrine are not only the theme of Job; they are also the concern of Jer. 17:9, of Ps. 73:3–14, and of Avoth 4:9, as well as of the conclusion in Ḥullin 142a that "not in this world is merit rewarded."

Those Jewish doubts fall outside of the *Middah Keneged Middah* passages; the *Middah Keneged Middah* utterances in Judaism raise none of those questionings. By contrast, Dante's handling of manner for manner subtly hints at such challenges. What becomes of punishment if the punishment coalesces with the sin, and what becomes of rewards if the reward is identical with the virtue?

But there is an objection that penetrates deeper. The words "virtuous" and "wicked" carry no unequivocal meanings. What one individual or group condemns as evil another acclaims as good. The hero of one allegiance can be the scoundrel of another allegiance. John Brown was hanged as a criminal but, for the Grand Army of the Republic, his soul went marching on. Hitler, abominated by millions, was for other millions, the peerless Fuehrer. The same applies to our illustrations from the Jewish past and from the *Divine Comedy*. The Talmud reproves those who deny that there will be a resurrection;[127] today those would be guilty of cultural lag by whom a resurrection is affirmed. Antiochus, the archvillain of Jewish history,

[124] Lowell, *op. cit.*, p. 81, footnote.

[125] Wild beasts, 11:18; 16:5; rain and hail, 16:16; fire, 16:22; falling waters, 17:4; hailstones 5:22, 23.

[126] Eccles. 7:15; 8:14; 9:2.

[127] Sanhedrin 90a.

that is, Antiochus Epimanes (Antiochus, the madman), was also Antiochus Epiphanes (Antiochus, the illustrious). Dante places Brutus and Cassius of Roman history in the pit of Hell where they are crunched in the mouths of Satan;[128] there were contemporaries of Brutus and Cassius who must have rated Brutus and Cassius as paragons of courage. Among those in that enclosure of Inferno which afflicts the fomenters of discord, Dante places Mahomet;[129] that same Mahomet has been celebrated as ranking among the world's foremost religious leaders. We can be certain that the disrupters objurgated by Dante[130] were not without their admirers who applauded them as liberators of mankind.

Dante and his Jewish forerunners seem unaware of such diversities in ethical standards. They show not an inkling that the fiercest of opponents can be, in their respective positions, equally conscientious, sincere, and dedicated. Such inkling has also failed to reach the world at large. The manner for manner utterances, whether in Judaism or in Dante, can serve as a monument to that fatal and widespread unawareness.

[128] Inf. XXXIV, 38, 55, 65, 67.
[129] Inf. XXVIII, 31.
[130] Inf. Canto XXVIII.

ABRABANEL ON PROPHECY IN THE *MOREH NEBHUKHIM*

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IV. Commentary to Chapters Thirty-Six and Thirty-Seven* (Part 1)**

Having established generally that prophecy is not a miraculous gift, but a perfection which comes naturally to the person qualified to receive it, Maimonides proceeds to lay down a formal definition of prophecy in chap. 36. Maimonides' views in this chapter are divided and epitomized by Abrabanel into seven propositions:[1] 1) Maimonides' definition of prophecy is "an effluence that flows forth from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty"; 2) Prophecy comes to a person only when his imaginative faculty is constitutionally perfect, which, in turn, entails the perfection of the brain; 3) Prophecy and dream belong to the same species and differ only quantitatively; 4) The imaginative faculty concentrates during sleep upon those matters with which a person is greatly occupied when he is awake; 5) Prophecy occurs only among persons who have brought forth their intellects from potentiality to actuality; 6) A prophet must possess perfect morals; 7) Prophecy is affected by old age and emotional disturbance because it is produced in part by the imagination, a corporeal faculty.

A. The First Proposition

1. The Teachings of Averroes and Avempace Reflected in Maimonides' Definition

Three series of comments and one single comment are presented to the first proposition. In the first series, Maimonides' definition of prophecy is related to statements made by Averroes and Avempace concerning the nature and origin of knowledge. Averroes writes in the *De Sensu* that there are three kinds of supernatural knowledge, dream, divination, and prophecy. However, Abrabanel explains, Averroes limits himself to a scientific explanation of dreams and divination alone, because his information on prophecy was inadequate.

* Cont'd from vol. 34.

** This chapter will appear in two parts; part one covers the first three propositions.

[1] *Commentary on the Moreh*, II, 36; 79r. a. 15 ff.

But inasmuch as Averroes does report the belief of the populace in passing, that prophecy is knowledge which comes directly from God, Maimonides presents his definition to point out expressly that prophecy does not come from God in this way, but indirectly, through the medium of the Active Intellect:

> Maimonides sees fit to define prophecy in this chapter. The Philosopher,[2] in the second chapter of the *De Sensu*,[3] writes that there are divine cognitions of future events which are not attributed (by the populace) to man's natural modes of acquiring and attaining knowledge. Belonging to this class are the presages called dream, divination, and prophecy, [of whose reality we are so certain] that to deny their existence is the same as to deny the existence of sensible objects. For, as he writes further, the existence of prophetic apprehension, even if we ourselves have not seen it, is very widely known, and that which is known by everyone to exist must be accounted as necessarily existing either in whole or in part.[4] Moreover, (he says), the same general explanation accounts for them.[5] However, the Philosopher says nothing there concerning the definition of prophecy, i. e., of its quiddity and essence, but writes that he speaks only of dream and divination.[6] The reason for this is that he did not possess

[2] This discussion, which Abrabanel attributes to the Philosopher, i. e., Aristotle, is actually from Moses Ibn Tibbon's translation, the *Sefer ha-Ḥush weha-Muḥash*, of Averroes' *Kitab al-Ḥiss w'al Maḥsus*, (*De Sensu et Sensibili*), which is a commentary on Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia*. This Hebrew text has been edited by H. Blumberg and published under the title of *Averroes' Parva Naturalia* (Cambridge, 1954). Abrabanel's use of Averroes to explicate points in the *Moreh* is of questionable value. In the introduction to his edition (p. xv), Dr. Blumberg cites a letter by Maimonides written to a student, Judah 'Aknin, in which Maimonides states that he was unable to obtain a copy of the *De Sensu*. However, inasmuch as Maimonides writes in this same letter that he considers Averroes a great commentator with a "profound understanding" of Aristotle's works, it is possible Averroes' understanding of Aristotle closely approximated his own, and thus discussions similar to those cited by Abrabanel are what Maimonides alludes to in the *Moreh*. Cf. H. Blumberg, *Averroes' Parva Naturalia*, p. 44; cf. also, Narboni, *Commentary on the Moreh*, II, 36.

The syntax of ll. 18-32, beginning with ולפי שהפילוסוף has been modified for clarity in translation. As written, these lines constitute one sentence, of which ולפי שהפילוסופים מהאל ית' (l. 28) is the subordinate clause, and ולכן (l. 28) till the end of the comment, the main clause.

[3] Rd. (l. 18) with A ומוחש for המשוש.

[4] Rd. (l. 23) נכנה for רנכנע; cf. Narboni, *Commentary on the Moreh*, II, 36, whose comment is substantially similar to Abrabanel's here, and in part, perhaps, its source.

[5] Viz., for the three kinds of divine cognitions.

[6] Abrabanel's statement, that "the Philosopher," i. e., Averroes (see n. 2) restricts himself to a discussion of dream and divination only, is somewhat in-

the principles of the definition of prophecy, and therefore he could not speak of it. He does mention the opinion[7] of the populace on prophecy, namely, that divination comes from demons, dreams from angels, and prophecy from God. Maimonides, therefore, in order to refute the opinion of the multitude on prophecy, says, "Know that the quiddity of prophecy, in truth, is an effluence that flows forth from God through the medium of the Active Intellect," for the prophetic effluence cannot be attributed (directly) to God, it does not come from Him without an intermediary, — only through the mediation of the Active Intellect, which bestows forms and brings forth our intellects from potentiality to actuality; as Maimonides has explained in the chapters of this Part that come earlier. (76r. a. 17)

Avempace (Abu Bekr al-Ẓaig) is cited in connection with the reason Maimonides includes the imagination in his definition of prophecy. It is that the use of the imagination is necessary for the actualization of the intellect, and thus, inasmuch as the actualization of the intellect is necessary for prophecy, so too is the imagination:

Maimonides associates the imagination with all the prophets in accordance[8] with the opinion of Abu Bekr al-Ẓaig, who writes that there is no[9] conceptualization by an incorporeal intellect until the content of a corporeal faculty is united with it.[10] (76r. a. 32)

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accurate. Averroes' point is that prophecy is essentially the same as dream and true dream, or divination, and therefore, one explanation suffices for all three modes of precognition. In a later comment (77 v. a. 21 ff.), Abrabanel himself recognizes this discussion as an explanation of prophecy, which he opposes to Maimonides' view. His momentary lapse here can perhaps be attributed to the fact that Averroes mentions dream and true dream explicitly, but not prophecy.

[7] Rd. (ll. 26 and 28) דעת for דעות.

[8] Rd. (l. 32) with A כדעת for בדעת; cf. Narboni, *op. cit.*, apparently the source of this comment.

[9] Omit (l. 33) שם with Narboni, *op. cit.*

[10] Avempace's works are lost for the most part, and what exists of his writings appear as fragments in the writings of others. However, we can perhaps further explain the meaning of this statement from a summary of Avempace's thought contained in Narboni's commentary to the *Hai ibn Yaktan of Ibn Tofail*, (Solomon Munk, *Melanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, pp. 399 f.). Summarizing Avempace's explanation of the origin of universal intelligibles, Narboni explains that they originally exist in material objects, and they assume their universal character only as they become abstracted from their material substrata. This abstraction occurs through the psychological processes of the percipient. First the intelligibles appear in the sensations resident in the senses, and their connection with matter in the human soul is greatest at this point. From the senses the universals proceed to the

II. ANALYSIS OF THE DEFINITION

Having attempted some explanation of the relation of Maimonides' definition of prophecy to the opinions of other philosophers, Abrabanel in this second series of comments turns to an analysis of the definition itself. He presents first the logical division of Maimonides' definition, "Prophecy is an effluence that flows forth from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty." The *summum genus* of the division is, "an effluence that flows forth from God"; the subaltern genus is, "an effluence that flows through the medium of the Active Intellect"; the proximate genus is, "an effluence that flows upon the rational faculty"; and the specific difference is, "an effluence that flows upon the imaginative faculty":[11]

> The analysis of this definition proceeds in this manner. His (Maimonides') statement[12] that prophecy is "an effluence[13] that flows forth from God," gives the genus of the definition, which includes all species of effluences, for they all ascend necessarily to one principle, namely, the first cause, God, who is the remote

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imagination, where part of the matter is removed but where they are still considerably involved with matter. For the universals still inhere in imaginations that have a relation to the particular, e. g., the image of Plato differs from that of Aristotle. At this point the Active Intellect enters into the process and converts the material phantasms into universal concepts completely devoid of matter. These universal concepts or intelligibles then become the acquired or actualized intellect. Hence the imagination plays an intermediate but necessary role in bringing forth the intellect from potentiality to actuality. It may be noted that serving in an intermediate role in the actualization of the intellect is not the essential function of the imagination in Maimonides' notion of prophecy, which is the framing of allegory under the guidance of the actualized intellect.

[11] A definition, following the traditional Aristotelian view, is *per proximum genus et differentiam*. Hence Maimonides' definition of prophecy precisely stated, is "Prophecy is an effluence that flows first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty." Since, however, Abrabanel refers to the entire statement, "Prophecy is an effluence that flows forth from God, etc.," as the definition, we will do so as well.

[12] Rd. (l. 4) with A אמרו for אמר.

[13] H. A. Wolfson, ("Halevi and Maimonides on Prophecy," *JQR*, N.S., XXXIII [1942-43], 71) translates the term שפע, which we have translated as "effluence," by "free grace." He explains this as follows, "The term פיץ [Ar.], שפע [H.] in this passage is usually translated by emanation (Munk, Friedlander . . .). But the context as well as the historical background of the problem requires that the emphasis should be laid upon the element of liberality and generosity in the act of emanation." However, since in Abrabanel's unique interpretation of Maimonides' theory of prophecy, the emanation from the Active Intellect consists only in ordinary influences, the translation of "free grace" for שפע would not be entirely suitable. Therefore, in order to convey the uniqueness of Abrabanel's interpretation, we have used the translation of "effluence" for שפע throughout this work.

and first cause of all species of effluences. And in his statement,[14] "through the medium of the Active Intellect," he differentiates the prophetic effluence from the effluence that flows from the First Cause upon the incorporeal Intelligences and the spheres; for that latter effluence does not flow upon them from God through the medium of the Active Intellect. In the statement "first upon the rational faculty," there appears a more distinctive difference that differentiates prophecy, which is emanated through the medium of the Active Intellect, from the forms that come by emanation upon the elements and objects composed of them. For they constitute an effluence that emanates from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, but it does not emanate upon the rational faculty first, as does the prophetic effluence.[15] In his statement,[16] "and then upon the imaginative faculty," there appears the most distinctive difference, which differentiates the prophetic effluence from that of speculative philosophy, for the latter is also an effluence that flows from God through the medium of the Active Intellect upon the rational faculty, but the imagination is not associated with it as it is in prophecy. (76r. b. 1)

The characteristics of the prophetic effluence that distinguish it from all other effluences having been explained, we turn to the nature of the prophetic process itself.[17] What Maimonides means by his definition of prophecy as "an effluence that flows from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imagination," is that prophecy occurs when the Active Intellect bestows upon a person the form of a perfect brain, and the intellect supported by this brain is then actualized to the point where it possesses the ability to limit the action of the imagination to the apprehension of real objects:

His (Maimonides') opinion, according to what may be taken from his remarks, is that the Active Intellect, the bestower of forms, bestows and confers[18] upon every creature the form proper to it as determined by its composition. Therefore, when a [human] creature, according to the constitution, proportion,

[14] Rd. (l. 4) with A ובאומרו for ובאומר.

[15] Rd. (l. 9) with A שהם שפע שופע מהית' באמצעות השכל הפועל אבל אינו על הכח הדברי for שפע שופע הנבואה תחלה כמו שפע הנבואה.

[16] Rd. (l. 9) with A ובאומרו for ובאומר.

[17] These comments (80r. b. 7–22) appear in the critical epilogue to chap. 36. Their contents, however, logically belong to the exposition of the first proposition, and are advantageously presented at this point in the discussion.

[18] Perhaps rd. (l. 8) יחיל for יחול.

and position of his brain, possesses the most perfect of dispositions, then the form that comes upon him will also be pure and perfect. When this is so, and that individual trains himself in scientific and speculative matters so that he brings forth his intellect from potentiality to actuality, then perforce his imaginative faculty becomes regulated and produces accurate and excellent actions. It does not produce absurd combinations[19] and irrational imaginations, but all its actions[20] take place according to the guidance of the intellect and are directed in harmony with it. In this way a person intuits and apprehends future events in accordance with right reason; he does not become confused[21] by his imagination through intuiting and imagining things that are far removed from either real or rational existence. (80r. b. 7)

Hence the immediate cause of prophecy, according to Maimonides, is not an effluence that flows from the Active Intellect upon the prophet at the moment of prophecy, but an effluence that flows from the prophet's intellect onto his imagination which guides its action to the apprehension of real objects. Thus when Maimonides, in speaking of the philosopher as distinguished from the prophet (*Morch* II, 37), describes the philosopher as someone in whom the effluence reaches the intellect but not the imagination, he does not mean that this effluence required by the imagination comes from the Active Intellect, but from the human intellect, which is the rational control of the imaginative faculty.[22] However, the Active Intellect is also considered by Maimonides to

[19] Rd. (l. 12) with A הרכבות כוזבות ודמויים for בזכות ודמויים.

[20] Rd. (l. 13) with A פעולותיו for פעוליו.

[21] Rd. (l. 15) with A ישחבש for ישחמש.

[22] In his translation of the *Morch*, *Le Guide des Egarés*, vol. II, p. 291, Munk adds this note: "... Selon Schem-Tob et Abravanel, il faut entendre par *la chose qui s'épanche* la faculté rationelle, qui répand sur la faculté imaginative ce qu'elle a reçu de l'*intellect actif* et qui, selon qu'elle est plus ou moins forte, agit plus ou moins sur la faculté imaginative. Abravanel, qui ne pouvait lire que la version d'Ibn-Tibbon, croit devoir rapporter le mot ממנו (dans ולא ישפע דבר ממנו) à la faculté rationelle; mais le texte arabe qui a منه, au masculin, n'admet pas cette explication." The Arabic text reads: ובעד דא פלתעלם אן הדא אלפיץ אלעקלי אדא כאן פאיצא עלי אלקוה אלמתכיללה אלנאטקה פרט ולא יפיץ מנה שי עלי אלקוה אלמתכיללה; which Ibn Tibbon translates: ואחר זה תדע שזה השפע השכלי כשיהיה שופע על הכח הדברי לבד. ולא ישפע דבר ממנו על הכח הדמדמה. However, Abrabanel's point is not vitiated by the Arabic text, it simply offers no proof of his thesis. For while it states that none of the effluence came to the imagination, it does not deny that the effluence comes to the imagination through the intellect, nor that the insufficiency of the effluence is due to the fact that it was sufficient for the intellect alone. Moreover, the text further on states that the imagination was unable to receive the effluence of the *intellect*, and although Munk interprets this as the Active Intellect, Abrabanel's interpretation of the human intellect certainly is plausible. The Arabic text here (continuing the quotation above) is: אמא

be a cause of prophecy, although not the immediate cause, because it bestows those forms upon the prophet which make it possible for his faculties to produce prophecy:

> The fact that the imaginative faculty is subordinated to his (man's) intellect and proceeds in its ways according to its nature, is what is meant by the "pouring forth of the intellect" Maimonides mentions; (it does) not mean that the incorporeal Intelligence emanates a certain effluence upon the prophet at the time of prophecy, but that the human intellect by virtue of its great training in the sciences guides and directs[23] the imaginative faculty in performing its work correctly, judiciously, and accurately. This is the true explanation of prophecy according to Maimonides. Hence he says that prophecy comes from the Active Intellect, because the Active Intellect is the one that bestows forms upon man, and that prophecy depends upon the formative perfection of the imaginative faculty, because form comes upon matter according to its preparation and constitution. (80r. b. 16)

Moreover, since prophecy for Maimonides is produced by the imagination acting under the guidance of the intellect, it must therefore be said that prophecy comes into existence only when these two faculties function simultaneously. Consequently when Maimonides states in his definition that prophecy is "an effluence that flows first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imagination," he does not refer to a sequence in time but direction. The rational effluence which controls the imagination in prophecy originates in the intellect and proceeds to the imagination, but prophecy itself takes place only when the two faculties function simultaneously:

> Moreover, you should understand with reference to his (Maimonides') statement,[24] [the effluence flows] "*first* upon the rational faculty, and *then* upon the imaginative faculty," that it is not proper for this anteriority and posteriority to be taken as designating a relation in time, for the prophetic effluence comes over both faculties [simultaneously.] To the contrary, when the effluence from the Active Intellect is so scanty that the rational faculty alone[25] receives it, the person belongs to the class of the

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which לכלה אלשי אלפאיץ או לנקץ כאן פי אלמחכלה פי אצל אלנבלה פלא ימכנדא כבול פיץ אלעקל אם למעוט הדבר השופע או לחסרון היה במדמה בעקר הבריאה ולא יוכל Ibn Tibbon translates: לקבל שפע השכל.

[23] Omit (l. 19) וינהיג, dittograph appearing in both A and L.

[24] Rd. (l. 12) with A שאומרו for שאומר.

[25] Rd. (l. 15) with A הדברי בלבד for הדברי.

> philosophers, and when it is even scantier than this, flowing upon the imagination alone and not upon the intellect, the person then belongs to the class of the enchanters, dreamers of true dreams, and leaders of countries. But, when the effluence is so very great that the entire "temple"[26] is filled with its light, the rational faculty receiving it essentially and primarily, since it is the faculty that relates to and unites with it (the effluence) in an intellectual union, and (a beam) from the light of that effluence shines forth upon the "courtyard,"[26] i. e., the imaginative faculty, commensurate with its preparation, then true prophecy occurs.[27] (76r. b. 12)

In his final comment on the meaning of Maimonides' definition of prophecy, Abrabanel further explains the significance of Maimonides' statement that the prophetic effluence flows "first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty." For inasmuch as the philosophic effluence flows upon both the intellect and the imagination, the question may arise as to how the philosophic effluence is distinguished from the prophetic, which also flows upon the intellect and the imagination. Accordingly, Maimonides points out that in prophecy the flow of the effluence is from the intellect to the imagination, "*first* upon the rational faculty," whereas in philosophy, the flow is from the imagination to the intellect.[28]

[26] By the terms בית and מחנה Abrabanel literally means the Temple and the area adjacent to the Temple, occupied by the Priests and Levites. (For this meaning of מחנה *s. v.* מחנה, M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*.) However, the primary use of the terms here is figurative, בית referring to the rational faculty, which for Maimonides is the place of divinity in man, as the Temple was for ancient Israel, and מחנה referring to the imagination, which serves the rational faculty in prophecy, as the Priests and Levites once served the divinity of the Temple.

[27] The use of the term effluence in this paragraph must be understood in the light of the comment immediately preceding (80r. b. 16 ff.). The "scanty effluence" from the Active Intellect that reaches the rational faculty alone describes a case where the form bestowed by the Active Intellect produces a brain able to support an actualized intellect, but not a perfect imagination, and includes, in addition, the actualization of that intellect by the Active Intellect. A person who receives this amount of effluence becomes a philosopher. Where the effluence is "even scantier," i. e., when a perfect form of lesser importance comes upon a person, and produces a brain able to support a perfect imagination, but not a perfect intellect, the person becomes an enchanter, law-giver, or visionary. "But when the effluence is so very great that the entire temple is filled with its light," i. e., when the form from the Active Intellect produces a perfect brain, able to support both a perfect intellect and imagination, and through the power of the Active Intellect the rational faculty becomes actualized, then, when such an intellect controls the action of the imagination, prophecy comes into existence.

[28] Abrabanel refers here to the fact that in the process of actualizing the intellect, which is the process of becoming a philosopher, the universals acquired by the intellect are abstracted from particulars previously contained in the imagination.

This is the significance of his statement[29] "first upon the rational faculty and then upon the imaginative faculty." In the case of philosophy, it is possible for the effluence,[30] in a certain sense, to come first upon the imaginative faculty and produce its combinations, and afterward have the rational faculty[31] attain its conceptions. But in prophecy this is not so, for the exalted effluence is emanated essentially and first upon the rational faculty, and from there upon it (the imagination). In this way, according to Maimonides' opinion and fundamental principles, is it necessary for this definition to be understood. (76r. b. 21)

III. FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THE NATURE OF THE PROPHETIC EFFLUENCE

In this third series of comments, Abrabanel examines the following remarks by Maimonides on the prophetic effluence that appear in chap. 37:[32] 'It is necessary to call your attention to the nature of the existence of this divine effluence that comes to us, through which we think, and through which our intelligences are superior to one another. It is such that it may come to an individual in a measure sufficient for his own perfection, but nothing further, or it may come in such measure that, beyond his own perfection, it will pour forth to perfect others. It is the same for all existents, there are some to whom sufficient perfection comes to govern others, while there are those to whom enough perfection comes only to govern themselves and not others, as we have explained. After this explanation, you can understand that if this intellectual effluence emanates upon the rational faculty alone, with none of it emanating upon the imaginative faculty, it is due either to the paucity of this substance which emanates, or to some defect in the imagination in its original formation, so that it is unable to receive the effluence of the intellect. This condition produces the class of philosophers, those who engage in speculation.'

Three comments are presented to this passage. The first explains that the purpose of chap. 37 is to make unmistakably clear that the effluence in prophecy comes over the intellect and imagination simultaneously. However, in the definition, the intellect is mentioned as receiving the effluence "first," because it not only receives its form from the Active Intellect, which is superior to that of the imagination, but unites with the Active Intellect, as well, in the process of actualization. Thus in stating that the intellect receives the effluence "first," Maimonides means that the relationship between the intellect and the Active

[29] Rd. (l. 21) with A אומרו for אומר.

[30] Rd. (l. 22) with A יוכל לה שפע for יפצא.

[31] Rd. (l. 23) with A הכח for הנה, corrected by L to הכח.

[32] Chap. 37, as treated by Abrabanel, logically belongs in this discussion of Maimonides' first proposition.

Intellect is prior in importance to that between the imagination and the Active Intellect,[33] he does not mean that it is prior in time:

> The purpose of this chapter is supplementary. In his definition of prophecy, Maimonides says that it is the divine effluence which comes to the rational and imaginative faculties. Now it would be possible for us to think from this statement that the prophetic effluence comes upon the rational faculty first and foremost in time, without (affecting) the imagination, and that it comes, subsequently, upon the imaginative faculty, without (affecting) the reason. He, therefore, presents this chapter to explain that this is not the case. For the effluence that is emanated upon the reason is essentially that which is emanated upon the imagination; the emanation upon the two of them takes place simultaneously. However, the reason is mentioned first because it is the principal one, as well as the one that unites with the incorporeal being.[34] (80v. 32)

In the second comment, the nature of the effluence "through which we think" is elaborated. This effluence, according to Maimonides, may reach a person in such measure as to perfect his intellect alone, or it may be the means of perfection for others as well. The degree of perfection in either case depends upon the amount of effluence that comes to the intellect from the Active Intellect. This observation is offered by Maimonides preliminary to explaining the distinction between the philosopher and the prophet. The intellect of the philosopher receives a measure of effluence sufficient for its perfection alone, whereas the intellect of the prophet receives a measure sufficient not only for its own perfection, but also for the perfection of the imagination. (Translated into the terms of Abrabanel's interpretation, this means that the prophet receives from the Active Intellect the form of a brain capable of supporting an intellect able to be actualized to the point where it can reduce the imagination to rational control):

> Maimonides prefaces to this explanation a (comment) on the nature of the existence of this[35] effluence through which we think, and through which the superiority one person possesses over another is produced, as, e. g., the superiority of the wise man over the fool. There is (a quantity) of this (effluence) which will perfect the person himself, and no more than this, and

[33] Cf. *Moreh* II, 38. Maimonides considers the fact that the intellect is actualized by the Active Intellect as constituting a more direct relationship with the Intelligence than that possessed by the imagination.

[34] I. e., reason has the dominant role in producing prophecy exclusive of its added importance in uniting with the Active Intellect.

[35] Probably rd. (l. 35) בזה for בענין; cf. text of the *Moreh*.

(a quantity) which will perfect himself and others besides. For perfection corresponds to the abundance or paucity of the effluence. Maimonides says the same thing occurs among all existents, by which he means also among animals; there is a chief bee[36] whose nature it is to lead the others; and there is a lamb whose nature it is to be the head of the lambs and lead them. It is the same among other things, some of them[37] provide for others as well as their own existence, and there are others that provide only for their own existence.

After Maimonides has clearly stated this introduction, he presents the point which necessitated it, namely, when the effluence which comes upon the rational faculty is so little that it suffices for itself and no more than itself, onto the imaginative faculty, whether this occurs[38] owing to the insufficiency of the effluence, or to some defect in the rational faculty due to its formation so that it is unable to receive it, the person belongs to the class of the philosophers. Inasmuch as the effluence emanates upon his intellect alone, he becomes a philosopher, nothing more than this. And if the effluence emanates only upon the imaginative faculty and not upon the intellect, either owing to a lack of study or to other reasons, (the person) belongs to the class of those who lay down conventional law, those who govern countries, those who have true dreams, enchanters,[39] and sorcerers. For, in the opinion of Maimonides, enchantment and sorcery are all the work of the imagination. But when the effluence comes upon both of them together, i. e., upon the intellect and the imagination simultaneously, the person belongs to the class of the prophets.[40] This is the way the phrase which appears in the definition, "first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty," must be understood, namely, the effluence comes upon both faculties simultaneously, one does not precede the other in time. This is the point of the chapter. (80v. 35)

In the third comment, a question is raised concerning Maimonides' statement that the imagination may fail to receive an adequate amount of the intellectual effluence due to "a paucity of this substance which pours forth" having been received by the intellect. From the wording of this statement, it

[36] Rd. (l. 2) with A נם בבעלי חיים נמצא הדבורה הראשית for בכח הבריאה ראשית.
[37] Rd. (l. 4) with A שיש מהם שיועילו for שיש שיועילו מהם.
[38] Rd. (l. 7) with A ויהיה for והיה.
[39] Rd. (l. 13) והמנחשים for והמוחשים.
[40] Rd. (l. 15) with A מכח הנביאים for הנבואה; so L's correction in parentheses.

appears that the effluence fails to reach the imagination not because of any defect in the intellect, but because the effluence fails to come to the intellect in adequate amounts. Hence if the intellect is not responsible for the insufficiency, it must be attributed either to God or the Active Intellect, the sources of the effluence. But if this is so, Maimonides attributes an unjust act to these divine beings, namely, arbitrarily withholding from a human intellect the amount of effluence it is qualified to receive:

> However, you must direct your attention to Maimonides' statement that the effluence comes upon the reason and not upon the imagination owing to the paucity of the effluence, since this, in fact, is untrue, for there is no niggardliness in the Giver, blessed be He. He always bestows all the effluence that the recipient, according to his preparation, is able to receive. Therefore, we cannot, on this account, contend about the paucity of the effluence; that it was because of this (niggardliness) that it (the effluence) was not emanated upon the imagination, or that because of this (niggardliness) it (the effluence) was sufficient for the perfection of the person himself, with none remaining to perfect others than himself. (80r. b. 2)

The answer to this question is that Maimonides did not mean to imply that the insufficiency of effluence was due to the Active Intellect or God. For the Intelligences and God are perfect beings in whom niggardliness cannot occur. If, therefore, an insufficient amount of effluence comes to the intellect, it can only be attributed to some defect in the intellect itself. Also, the imagination may fail to receive the intellectual effluence simply because it is too defective to do so:

> But the answer to this (difficulty) is clear to anyone who understands what Maimonides means by this effluence, namely, as I have explained, this effluence Maimonides speaks of in this chapter is the effluence emanated from the rational faculty[41] onto the imaginative faculty. Thus he states, "this divine effluence which comes to us, through which we think, and through which our intelligences are superior to one another," namely, the effluence of the Active Intellect, "may come to an individual in a measure sufficient for his own perfection, but nothing further," and Maimonides does not say of this that it is due to the paucity of the substance which pours forth, for it is the effluence of an incorporeal being, and consequently cannot be exiguous by reason of its source. But the paucity of that effluence which comes to a person in such a degree as to perfect

[41] Rd. (l. 9) with A מכח הדברי for מן הדברים.

him alone, and nothing else, is due to the recipient, i. e., to some constitutional defect or to inadequate study. Accordingly, when Maimonides says following this, "After this explanation you can understand that, if[42] this intellectual effluence emanates upon the rational faculty, with nothing of it emanating upon the imaginative faculty, it is due either to the paucity of this substance which emanates, (or to some defect in the imagination)" etc., i. e., if the effluence of the incorporeal being emanates upon the rational faculty and nothing of the latter emanates upon it, i. e., nothing from the rational faculty onto the imaginative faculty, it is not because of the incorporeal being, for there is no niggardliness in it, but because of the rational faculty, which owing either to some constitutional defect or inadequate study, as I have mentioned, receives only a paucity of the effluence. [And Maimonides adds], "with none of it flowing upon the imaginative faculty," for if the rational faculty fails to receive (a sufficient amount of) effluence because of some defect or inadequate study, it is unable to pour [anything] from the small amount of effluence it does possess onto the imaginative faculty.

And, at times, the imagination fails to receive it (the effluence) not because of the paucity of effluence there is in the rational faculty, but because that imaginative faculty itself is defective from the beginning of its formation. In this way, it is necessary for Maimonides' remarks on this subject to be understood. (81r. b. 7)

IV. THE NATURE OF MOHAMMED'S AND JESUS' INSPIRATION

Incidental to his discussion of the prophetic effluence in chap. 37, Maimonides enumerates three classes of persons who possess intellectual or imaginative perfection: the philosopher, who possesses a perfect intellect and an imperfect imagination; the prophet, who possesses both a perfect intellect and a perfect imagination; and the lawgiver, statesman, and visionary, who possess a perfect imagination and an imperfect intellect. In the following comment, Abrabanel explains that when discussing the third class Maimonides had Mohammed and Jesus in mind. Their inspiration, inasmuch as they were uneducated and had not realized their intellects, was not prophecy, but only the phantasy of a powerful imagination. This kind of phantasy resembles prophecy in that it contains some truth by virtue of the perfection possessed by the imagination,

[42] Rd. (l. 16) כשיהיה שופע על הכח הדברי ולא ישפע ממנו דבר על הכח המדמה אם לפיעוט כשיהיה for דבר השופע וכו' ר"ל כשיהיה.

but owing to the weakness of the intellect, this truth is obscured by the irrational imagery that appears with it:

> Inasmuch as Maimonides mentions the essence of the third class, namely, the effluence coming upon the imagination alone, there being[43] a deficiency present in the reason due to its original formation or to inadequate study, it cannot be attributed to another cause, i. e., to niggardliness on the part of the incorporeal bestower, — and inasmuch as he mentions that statesmen and lawgivers belong to this class, he [also] mentions that because there is a relation and connection between this class and the class of prophecy, i. e., the fact that in the two classes the effluence comes upon the imagination, that, therefore, it will happen that some of the individuals of this third class will have marvelous phantasies occur to them, so similar to a prophetic vision that they themselves believe they are prophets, and imagine that without study, scientific knowledge, as[44] in the case of the prophets, has come to them. But they confuse true things with[45] imaginary ones owing to the strength of their imagination and the weakness of their reason, for they have acquired[46] nothing of scientific knowledge, and their intellects have not gone forth from potentiality to actuality. There is no doubt that by this (remark) Maimonides alludes to the prophet of the Muslims and also to the prophet of the Christians.[47] The remaining matters in this chapter (37) are clear and there is no need to select and refine the correct from the incorrect in his remarks, for it is already included in what I have written on chap. 36 preceding. (81v. 8)

V. ABRABANEL'S CRITIQUE OF THE FIRST PROPOSITION

Maimonides' first proposition is that the definition of prophecy is "an effluence that flows forth from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty." According to this proposition, prophecy always requires the participation of the imagination and cannot be produced by the intellect alone. Consequently, if this proposition is true, all prophecy that appears in Scripture must, to some

[43] Perhaps rd. (l. 8) with A והנה for והיה.

[44] Rd. (l. 12) with A כענין for בענין.

[45] Rd. (l. 12) with A יבלבלו העניינים האמתיים במדומים for יכלכלו העניינים האמתיים כמדומים.

[46] Rd. (l. 13) with A בידם for כי אם.

[47] Rd. (l. 13) with A הישמעלים עם גם נביא הנוצרים for הישמעאלים.

extent, be enigmatic and obscure, since the imagination can only produce imagery and allegory. However, says Abrabanel, this is not so, for there are many prophecies in Scripture that are clear and explicit, some to the point where they possess philosophic clarity. Therefore, it must be concluded that Maimonides' first proposition is false:

> Isaac says: Maimonides has taught us seven propositions in this chapter, and he will explain them further in the remaining chapters to come. After an explanation of his remarks, the obligation falls upon me, in order to remove corrupt opinion from our midst, to conduct an investigation into them and to choose what is correct among them from the incorrect, according to the faith of the divine and true Torah held by us, the community of believers. For that is what is just in the eyes of God. I will enumerate those propositions seriatim, "and my speech will drop upon them."
>
> The first proposition Maimonides lays down is that the definition of prophecy, in truth, is an effluence that flows from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty. The meaning of this definition, as is explained in chap. 37, is that the effluence which comes from the incorporeal being becomes absolute prophecy only when it descends upon the two faculties simultaneously, i. e., the reason and the imagination.
>
> The falsity of this proposition has already been attested to by the sacred Scriptures, for if it were as (described) in Maimonides' remarks, it would necessarily follow that all prophecies consist in parables and enigmas, since the imaginative faculty would receive all of them, which is not the case. For we find many prophecies consisting of explicit statements entirely free of parable and enigma, not only among the utterances of the master of prophets, Moses, but also among those of the ordinary prophets. (This is so) both as regards the utterances of the prophets who preceded him, — the point is obvious in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, — and the utterances of those who succeeded him, since we find in Isaiah[48] many prophecies of explicit statements, free of parable and enigma, such as those he prophesied to Hezekiah (Isa. 39:5 ff.).
>
> Moreover, prophecy comes at times concerning even scientific matters, such as you see in that chapter [following], "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand," (*ibid.*, 40:12);

[48] Rd. (l. 25) with A בישעיהו for מישעיהו.

> "To whom then will ye liken God?" (*ibid.*, 18); "To whom then will ye liken Me, that I should be equal?" (*ibid.*, 25); "Lift up your eyes on high, And see: who hath created these? He that bringeth out their host by number, He calleth them all by name, . . ." (*ibid.*, 26–28), and all the remaining verses. Also cf., "Thus saith the Lord, He that created the heavens, and stretched them forth" (*ibid.*, 42:5). These are all explicit and scientific statements, true concepts that are free of parable and enigma, and there are many other chapters such as these concerning which there is no need to mention. (79r. a. 15)

Since the evidence from Scripture clearly indicates that prophecy may be either intellectual or imaginative, the definition to which the true believer subscribes is that prophecy is an effluence which may come either to the intellect or the imagination, the joint participation of both faculties is not required:

> In view of this, the true opinion of religionists is that prophecy is divine revelation which comes to a prophet, in substance and detail, either through an intermediary or without one. At times the intellect receives it, and the utterances are explicit and clear, at other times the imagination receives it, and the object it receives consists in imagery and parable that appears along with it. Each one of these is true prophecy, and there is absolutely no need to say that the intellect of the prophet cannot receive the prophetic effluence[49] without the imagination having joined with it. For just as, according to Maimonides' opinion, even the imagination may receive the effluence separately without the other internal and external faculties receiving it, so, according to the opinion of the faithful, the rational faculty may receive prophecy without the imagination participating with it in receiving that effluence. (79r. a. 35)

A problem arises, however, regarding Abrabanel's contention that some prophecy is produced through the intellect alone. How does such prophecy differ from philosophy, which also is produced through the intellect alone? Abrabanel gives the following explanation. The philosophic effluence produces knowledge a posteriori, i. e., this effluence consists in the form of the intellect and its capacity for actualization, which only provide a person with the ability to acquire knowledge after observation and thought; whereas the prophetic effluence produces knowledge a priori, i. e., this effluence is itself knowledge, which comes to the prophet prior to personal investigation. Hence, since it comes from a celestial being, we may be certain of the truth of prophetic knowl-

[49] Rd. (l. 2) with A השפע הנבואי for השכל הנבואי.

edge, whereas philosophic knowledge, which is produced through human effort, always contains the possibility of error:

> This (definition) cannot be objected to on the basis that the status of the prophet is the same as that of the philosopher, since in both these cases the incorporeal effluence descends upon the rational faculty alone. For the class of the philosophers is distinguished from the class of the prophets by the greatness, quality, and substance of its effluence, as well as by its method of knowing. For the effluence emanated upon a philosopher is inadequate and deficient; it does not provide true revelation, but only such thought, speculation, and inquiry as the person produces by himself. Thus his inquiry proceeds a posteriori. However, the effluence that comes to a prophet is very great and, unlike[50] the method of inquiry and speculation, provides a true revelation. He[51] receives that knowledge in its entirety from the incorporeal being, and apprehends matters from "that which is the higher to lower," i. e., a priori.[52] Consequently, doubt may befall speculative matters, but certainty and assurance exist for the prophet as regards[53] that which comes to him in prophecy. For just as the human dream, which originates from vapors coming up from the stomach to the brain, is to be distinguished from the prophetic dream,[54] so, even more so, is the speculative effluence[55] to be distinguished from the prophetic effluence, despite the fact that the rational faculty receives them both. What hath the straw to do with the wheat?
>
> As for the explanation how God, according to the opinion of Maimonides, is the cause of prophecy, and how it is proper for us, the adherents of the Torah, to believe, it will appear in the last part of this chapter.[56] This (*supra*) is what has been necessary for us to say in fundamental terms concerning the falsity of this first proposition he lays down. (79r. b. 6)

[50] Rd. (l. 12) with A כדרך for בדרך.
[51] Rd. (l. 12) with A והוא מקבל for מקבל.
[52] Rd. (l. 13) with A המאוחר for הטהאחר; cf. l. 11.
[53] Rd. (l. 14) with A במה for כמה.
[54] Omit (l. 27) וכמו שיבא.
[55] Rd. (l. 17) ההשפעה for הנבואה. Both A and L have הנבואה.
[56] The text reads בפ' האחרון מזה החלק, which usually translates "in the last chapter of this Part." But Abrabanel doesn't comment on chap. 48, the last chapter in Part II, and his commentary to chap. 45 does not discuss his own theory, which he does do in his commentary to the seventh proposition, the final section of chap. 36. Perhaps the text should be transposed to read, "בחלק האחרון מזה הפרק."

B. THE SECOND PROPOSITION

I. THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS OF THE SECOND PROPOSITION

The second proposition into which Abrabanel divides chap. 36, "prophecy comes to a person only when his imaginative faculty is constitutionally perfect, and this perfection is consequent upon the perfection of the brain, which is the substratum of that faculty," is based upon three passages in the *Moreh* relating to the imagination. In the first passage, Abrabanel explains, Maimonides presents the reason why a perfect imagination is necessary for prophecy. Prophecy requires the highest stage of intellectual development, which is itself attained only when the intellect and the imagination both receive the prophetic effluence. Since the imagination cannot receive this effluence unless it is perfect,[57] Maimonides postulates the perfection of the imagination in addition to that of the intellect as a necessary condition for prophecy:

> Maimonides means to say by this that human perfection is much more extensive than the perfection of the practical or speculative intellects. The highest degree it (human perfection) has is this: that the speculative intellect[58] unite with the incorporeal being to so great a degree that the divine effluence and light emanate upon it, and the imaginative faculty receive it (the emanation) together with it (the intellect). This perfection is natural in man since it is his *telos*, and may exist in his species the same way as the other perfections that occur naturally. He (Maimonides) makes this statement in order to refute the opinion of those who maintain that prophecy is something miraculous. (76r. b. 26)

The second passage upon which the proposition is based reads, "This state[59] cannot possibly, in any way, be found in every person. And it is not a state that can be attained through perfection in the speculative sciences or through the betterment of morals, even if these are present in the most excellent and

[57] See Abrabanel's comment *infra*, chap. 37 (ll. 81v. 6 ff.).

[58] The text is ambiguous as regards the subject of שיתדבק. The apparent antecedent is השלמות האנושי, but this does not fit the context. דעיוני fits the context, but is not the proper antecedent. Abrabanel has apparently shifted subjects, hence our translation "speculative intellect."

[59] Abrabanel's translation of the *Moreh* here differs from the conventional one. The Hebrew text reads: וזאת היא היותר עליונה שבמדרגות האדם ותכלית השלמות אשר אפשר שימצא למינו. והענין הדוא רוא תכלית שלמות הכח המדמה וזה ענין אי אפשר בכל איש בשום פנים. The term ענין (in the phrase וזה ענין) is conventionally taken to refer to היא (in the phrase, וזאת היא), which in turn refers back to הנבואה mentioned earlier in the text. Abrabanel takes ענין to refer to the phrase שלמות כח המדמה; cf. Munk, *Le Guide des Égarés*, vol. II, p. 281.

perfect degree, unless there is joined with them the greatest possible perfection of the imaginative faculty in its original formation." The following comment explains that in this passage Maimonides presents the reason why prophecy has not come to any philosophers, although there have been many in history intellectually and morally qualified to receive it. For despite their qualifications, these philosophers have not been endowed with the imaginative perfection that is also required for prophecy:

> As for his (Maimonides') added remark, "and that state consists in the most perfect development of the imaginative faculty," it is related to the statement following it. Its significance is that someone may perhaps argue, "Seeing that the perfection of prophecy is a potentiality which exists naturally within the human species, the difficulty arises,[60] therefore, how it is that the greatest philosophers, as well as other men who have achieved perfection in the sciences and in morals have not been worthy of it?" Whereupon, in order to answer this, Maimonides says, "that state (prophecy) consists in the most perfect development of the imaginative faculty," and, "This state," i. e., the attainment of the greatest perfection of the imaginative faculty, "cannot possibly, in any way, be found in every person," i. e., the perfection cannot be found among all men. And this perfection is not a state to which people can attain "through perfection in the speculative sciences or through the betterment of morals,[61] even if these are present in the most excellent and perfect degree," unless the other essential condition is joined with them, namely, the perfection of the imagination in its original formation so that this faculty is in the finest condition possible. (76r. b. 32)

The final passage upon which the second proposition is based contains Maimonides' description of the physical conditions that are necessary for a perfect imagination. The brain that supports it must be perfect as regards constitution, size, and purity of humor. Moreover, the perfection of the imagination is innate, and should the brain be defectively formed, or become injured subsequent to its formation, the imagination cannot be restored to a perfect condition. In the following comment, Maimonides' discussion of the physical conditions required for imaginative perfection is restated and interspersed with explanatory remarks:

> And since this perfection is original with the inception of a person's formation, Maimonides enumerates the conditions that must exist for it. These consist in the excellent and select con-

[60] Rd. (l. 2) with A קשה for יקשה.

[61] Rd. (l. 7) with A והטבת הפדות for והטבע והפדות.

stitution that organ must possess which is the substratum of that faculty, i. e., the brain. Besides an excellent constitution, it (the organ) must also possess the most excellent proportions, i. e., the substance of the brain cannot be greater nor less than the proportion that is proper for it. Furthermore, it must meet still a third condition, that of purity of humor, namely, the humor required by the brain cannot be thicker than is proper or too thin, but must be of a uniform and balanced composition, so that the actions which issue from the faculty supported there may be optimum and perfect. And should this state, i. e., the perfection of the constitution, proportion,[62] and humor, become corrupt after its formation, or should it have developed defectively, it would be impossible in any way for man to restore it. For[63] the best state to which a proper regimen can bring the organ whose disposition is defective at the very beginning of its formation, because its measure is disproportionate, or its humors impure, and the maximum cure that can be effected for it through therapy, is the attainment of partial health, commensurate with that condition of the constitution, measure, and humor with which it was formed. No person can return it to the supreme, perfect rank of dispositions. For who can restore that which nature has deformed in the womb of a pregnant woman? This point is self-evident.

This discussion shows that prophecy can only exist when the imaginative faculty is most perfect from the inception of its formation, and that this perfection cannot be acquired through regimen, and therefore, that a person will not prophesy unless formed with that perfection. And inasmuch as this perfection is uncommonly and rarely found among people, only very few of them have been worthy of the rank of prophecy.

This discussion also shows that prophecy is a natural perfection possible to the human species, since it requires these natural qualifications innately. (76v. 8)

II. ABRABANEL'S CRITIQUE OF THE SECOND PROPOSITION

Maimonides' second proposition is that prophecy can come only to the person who possesses a perfect imagination, a perfection that is dependent upon the constitutional perfection of the brain. The principle underlying this proposition is Maimonides' belief that prophecy is the natural product of the prophet's

[62] Rd. (l. 12) with A המזג ושלמות השעור for המזג.

[63] Rd. (l. 13) with A לפי שהאבר for שהאבר.

faculties, and therefore, that a perfect imagination alone can account for its brilliant imagery. However, says Abrabanel, Maimonides' basic principle is untrue; prophecy is produced not by man but by God, who miraculously impresses His divine revelation upon the prophet's imagination. The function of the imagination is to receive, not produce prophecy:

> The second proposition is that prophecy comes upon a prophet only if his imaginative faculty is perfect in its original formation, and that this is consequent upon the perfection of the brain, — i. e., (the perfection) of its constitution, proportion, and position, — which is the substratum of this faculty, and that prophecy is impossible for someone who is not perfect in this regard from the inception of his formation. This proposition is also incorrect, because its fundamental principle is that the imaginative faculty, by itself through its intuition, intuits and decides upon future events, and that of itself, by its nature, it combines images and[64] produces (prophetic) parables and phantasies, and therefore, that it requires a natural balance in order that healthy and optimum actions may issue from it. Even though Maimonides is [seemingly] aided in the Introduction of this treatise[65] to prove that this is so from the statements Scripture makes, "And by the ministry of the prophets have I used similitudes"[66] (Hos. 12:11), and, "Is he not a maker of parables" (Ezek. 21:5), we, the community of believers, say, that just as the revelation which comes explicitly to a prophet and is received by his intellect is not produced by himself, but through what is instructed him from Heaven, so are the images which come to his imagination at the time of prophecy images which are not produced through his imaginative faculty by itself, but which are impressed upon it according to the divine will. They do not come by his (the prophet's) choice through his combinations, but according to what he is instructed by the power of his prophecy and the divine effluence that is poured upon him. (79r. b. 22)

Abrabanel cites evidence from the books of Isaiah, Amos, and Ezekiel that it is God, not the prophets, who creates the imagery of prophecy, which He projects onto the prophets' imaginations:

> This is what the prophet Isaiah says, "O thou my threshing, and the winnowing of my floor, That which I have heard from

[64] Rd. (l. 28) with A ויעשה for יעשה.

[65] Introduction to the *Moreh*, p. 7r.

[66] "I used similitudes" translates אדמה, which has the same root as מדמה, imagination.

the Lord of hosts, The God of Israel, have I declared unto you" (Isa. 21:10); also the prophet Amos, "Thus the Lord God showed me, and, behold, He formed locusts in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth" (Amos 7:1); and, "Thus the Lord God showed me; and, behold, the Lord God called to contend by fire" (*ibid.*, 4); and, "Thus He showed me; and behold the Lord stood beside a wall made by a plumbline" (*ibid.*, 7); similarly, "Thus the Lord God showed me, and behold a basket of summer fruit" (*ibid.*, 8:1). Hence it is clear that the images he saw God showed to him, they did not come from the combinations of his imagination. This is also the meaning of the statement by the prophet, "I saw the Lord" (II Chron. 18:18). And for the same reason it is said, "And by the ministry of the prophets have I used similitudes" (Hos. 12:11), i. e., He, God, produced these imaginations by means of[67] the prophets, they did not come through the prophets' own power and combinations. Of this very matter, the prophet Ezekiel complained in his remark, "they say of me: Is he not a maker of parables" (Ezek. 21:5), i. e., they were attributing the imaginations and parables to him when it was the opposite of the truth, for they came from Him, Blessed be He, and from His hand. (79r. b. 36)

Abrabanel now concludes his argument as to why the imagination of the prophet need not be perfect. Since prophetic imagery is not a natural creation, but a miracle produced by God, the prophet's imagination merely requires strength sufficient to receive it. In prophecy, the imagination is like a mirror: if it is perfectly formed, it casts a superior reflection of the images God projects upon it, if it is imperfectly formed, it casts an inferior reflection. In either case, the imagination is able to receive the images sufficiently well to reveal the future to the prophet. Moreover, since prophecy is fundamentally a supernatural event, God can, if the prophet requires it, simply extend the miracle to include the creation of a perfect imagination as well:

The conclusion that emerges from this entire (discussion) is that although the imaginative faculty of the prophets should be healthy and sound in order that they may be perfect and healthy as regards their faculties, we cannot for this reason state absolutely that prophecy cannot exist without (meeting) this condition. For those images and phantasies that the prophet sees do not come from himself so as to require the perfection of an organ which with its power produces those actions, but from God.

[67] "And by the ministry" translates וביד, which is the singular form of בידי, translating "by means of."

He is the one who shows to the prophet the images that he wishes to show him, in such a manner that they provide instruction and knowledge of what will be. The imaginative faculty is able to receive this (imagery), even though it is not of that utmost perfection in its formation Maimonides mentions, in the same way that figures are reflected in a mirror as they appear opposite it, — if the mirror is polished, the figures are reflected in it clearly and distinctly, and if the mirror is dim, they are still reflected in it, but not so clearly and distinctly, unless a person polishes it. The case is similar as regards the prophet's imagination; figures are reflected in it as God places them opposite it. Moreover, since prophecy is a miraculous event, if God wishes to rest his prophecy upon a prophet, He will "polish the mirror," and purify the prophet's imaginative faculty in such a way that what he sees[68] he may declare. (79v. a. 9)

C. THE THIRD PROPOSITION

1. THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS OF THE THIRD PROPOSITION

The third proposition into which Abrabanel divides chap. 36, "dream and prophecy belong to the same species by virtue of the fact that they are each the function of the imagination," is based upon three passages in the *Moreh*. The first passage reads as follows: 'You know also that part of the functions of the imaginative faculty consists in preserving the memory of sensations, combining them, and, what is particularly suitable to its nature, reproducing them; and that the greatest and most noble of its functions takes places when the senses are at rest, and have ceased from their activities, for then the amount of effluence proper for it according to its preparation pours upon it. This is the cause of true dreams, and also the cause of prophecy.'

Two comments are presented to this passage. In the first comment, Maimonides' comparison of true dream with prophecy is explained as further evidence of prophetic naturalism, since it obviates the need for a supernatural interpretation. The similarity between true dream and prophecy is that the imagination is instrumental in producing both. Among the functions of the imagination relevant to prescience are the reproduction of sensations received from the common sense into imaginations, and the formation of these imaginations into new combinations of images. (In ordinary dreams, these combinations are meaningless, referring to nothing real, but in true dream and prophecy they portray events of the future.) These combinations are produced during sleep, when the external faculties are quiescent, and the soul, free of other psychic demands, concentrates its power upon the activity of the imagination:[69]

[68] Rd. (l. 22) with A שאשר for שכאשר.

[69] The following comment, which is taken from Narboni (*op. cit.*, II, 36), is based

After Maimonides has presented the essential condition of prophecy, namely, the perfection of the imaginative faculty at its formation, by which it (prophecy) is shown to be a natural perfection, he presents still another proof (of this) from the quiddative character of prophecy. He undertakes to demonstrate this through dream, which is a natural event, arguing that the cause of dream is the same as the cause of prophecy, and that it necessarily follows from this that prophecy is a natural event such as dream is.

This is the significance of his statement, "You know also that part of the functions of the imaginative faculty" etc.; i. e., the function of the external[70] senses is the reception of sensible forms; the function of the common sense is to associate and join them, in order that a person may be aware that he sees, and know that that which he has heard is that which he has seen; and the function[71] of the memory faculty is the preservation of sensations.[72] As for the functions of the imaginative faculty, they consist in "combining them," i. e., the combination of one sensation with another sensation, and "what is particularly suitable to its nature, reproducing them," it reproduces a substitute (image) of the (sense) object[73] which (image) is similar

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upon a passage in Averroes' *Parva Naturalia*, (cf. H. Blumberg, *op. cit.*, p. 54). The object of the comment is to explain why the imagination functions best when the person is asleep, but as Abrabanel presents the passage, a crucial step in Averroes' reasoning is omitted, i. e., why it is that the imagination is affected when the external senses are engaged in sensation. The reason, as Averroes explains it, is that the power contained in the external senses turns inward to the internal senses when the former are at rest, and greatly increases their ability to function. The truth of this is shown by the fact that a person who is deeply immersed in study will close his eyes to think better, and at times even fall asleep. We have included this point in our introduction to the comment.

[70] Rd. (l. 22) החיצונים for הפנימיים.

[71] Rd. (l. 23) with A ופעולת for ועלת.

[72] Some difficulty arises here concerning Abrabanel's statement, "and the function of the memory faculty is the preservation of sensations." For in Averroes (*op. cit.*) the memory faculty does not preserve sensations, but only universal concepts which are completely devoid of matter; and in the *Moreh, supra*, Maimonides says the preservation of images is the function of the imagination; while Narboni, in the comment upon which Abrabanel apparently bases his own comment, also includes the memory of sensations with the functions of the imagination. We may conclude, therefore, that the text here is most likely corrupt, and that the passage should read as follows: ". . . and the function of the *imaginative faculty* (in place of the *memory faculty*) is the preservation of the sensations. As for the *other* functions of the imaginative faculty . . .".

[73] Omit (l. 24) דבר אחר; cf. Narboni and Shem-tob, commentaries to the *Moreh, ad locum*.

> or comparable[74] to it (the object). The "greatest and most noble of its functions takes place when the external senses are at rest, and have ceased from their activities." This[75] is because the faculties exert pressure on one another owing to their association together in one subject. The imaginative faculty, therefore, completes its activities at the time of sleep, for nothing exerting pressure is present there.[76] Consequently, you will notice that someone who is deep in thought[77] and imagination will so divert (the power) of his sentient faculties to the midst of his body that he swoons from sleep, and for this reason, the absence of sight and hearing, the workings of the internal senses are[78] more excellent when the person is sleeping. (76v. 19)

The similarity between true dream and prophecy having been explained, the next comment describes how they differ. True dream and prophecy are both produced by imaginations that have received "effluence" from the Active Intellect, endowing them with constitutional perfection, but in prophecy the rational faculty is endowed with perfection as well. This enables the rational faculty to guide the imagination to rational conclusions. Thus "true dreams" are true accidentally; one, out of the many phantasies a perfect imagination produces, will be by fulfilled chance. Dreams cannot, therefore, be relied upon, whereas, prophecy, which is produced by the rational faculty as well as the imagination, possesses the certainty that pertains to every rational demonstration.

(In the second paragraph of this comment, Abrabanel again departs from a conventional interpretation of the text. In the passage of the *Moreh* quoted *supra* (p. 235), the phrase והוא הסבה בחלומות הצודקות והוא בעצמו סבת הנבואה has been translated as, "This is the cause of true dreams, and also the cause of prophecy." However, in an ingenious play upon words, Abrabanel translates the phrase as, "This is the cause of true dreams, and with its essential cause (בעצמו) is the cause of prophecy." Abrabanel probably would not deny the correctness of the conventional translation, his point is that Maimonides deliberately phrases his remark in such a way that the interpretation derived by Abrabanel from the text is covertly included.):

[74] Rd. (l. 24), נמשל for נמשך; cf. Narboni and Shem-ṭob, *op. cit.*

[75] Rd. (l. 25) with A והיה זה for והיה.

[76] Rd. (l. 26) בעת השינה. לפי שנפש טרודה בפעולתה בהרכבת for בעת השינה שאין שם פעיק הדמיונות ולא תהיה טרודה ולא פעיק בהשנות החושיות הפנימות; cf. Narboni and Shem-ṭob, *op. cit.* It may be, however, that the text as it stands is original with Abrabanel, and not a later explanatory gloss; perhaps to be translated as follows, ("The imaginative faculty, therefore, completes its activities) at the time of sleep, for then the soul, engaged in its activity of combining imaginations, is not engaged and pressed by (other) internal sensations." Probably "internal" (פנימות) should then be emended to "external" (חיצונית), and omit "(other)."

[77] Rd. (l. 1) with A רמחשבה for מרחשבה; cf. Narboni and Shem-ṭob, *op. cit.*

[78] Rd. (l. 2) with marginal correction in A היו for הם; cf. Narboni and Shem-ṭob, *op. cit.*; but perhaps transpose היו to after והשמע.

As for the statement Maimonides makes, "... then the amount of effluence proper for it according to its preparation pours upon it.[79] This is the cause of true dream, and also the cause of prophecy," he means dreams will be true when the soul is free of its other apprehensions and remains engaged solely in thought and imagination, and the amount of effluence proper for the imaginative faculty according to its preparation is poured upon it, i. e., the preparation of the brain which is the substratum of this faculty. When this occurs dreams will be true.

Maimonides then says that "This," namely, the emanation by the incorporeal being upon the imaginative faculty, "with its essential cause is the cause of prophecy" (בעצמו סבת הנבואה). This (emanation upon the imagination) alone is not the cause of prophecy, rather, when that effluence comes first upon the rational faculty and then upon the imaginative faculty, and the two of them join together (in action), does prophecy arise.[80] Consequently, the statement "with its essential cause is the cause of prophecy," means with the other and more essential cause, which is the reception of that effluence by the rational[81] faculty. (77r. a. 3)

II. THE RABBINIC BASIS OF THE THIRD PROPOSITION

In the second passage upon which the third proposition is based, Maimonides brings two quotations from the Sages as proof of the similarity between dream and prophecy: "It[82] only differs quantitatively, not specifically. You know the statement they (the Sages) have variously repeated: 'dream is a sixtieth part of prophecy,'[83] and no proportion can exist between two things that differ specifically; it is not proper to say, (e. g.,) 'The perfection of man is so many times double the perfection of horse'. They repeat this notion in Gen. Rabbah,

[79] Rd. (l. 3) with A והוא שאמר הרב אז שפע עליו כצה שפע כפי ההכנה והיא הסבה בחלומות הצודקות for והוא הסבה; however, in A emend אז ישפע to אז שפע, and perhaps והיא הסבה to והוא הסבה; cf. text of the *Moreh*.

[80] Rd. (l. 8) with A סבת הנבואה כי אם כשתחול אותו השפע על הכח הדברי תחלה ואח"כ על הכח המדמה for סבת המדמה.

[81] Rd. (l. 10) with A הדברי for הדבר.

[82] I. e., the effluence. The text of the *Moreh* has the plural יתחלפו, apparently taking בחלומות and הנבואה as subjects. Munk (*Guide*, II, 36, pp. 282 f., n. 7) points out that the Arabic text has the singular יתחלף, which has for its subject פיץ (שפע, effluence). The error is attributed by Munk to Ibn Tibbon. However, the text of Abrabanel (see n. 87) has the singular יתחלף and Abrabanel clearly understood שפע to be the subject. Assuming Abrabanel's version to reflect the original text of the *Moreh*, the error would not be Ibn Tibbon's, but that of a copyist.

[83] Bab. Talmud, Berakhoth 57b.

'Dream is the abortive fruit of prophecy'.[84]" Commenting upon the passage, Abrabanel paraphrases the *Moreh*: the first statement of the Sages shows that dream is essentially similar to prophecy inasmuch as no two things can be compared unless they belong to the same species, as, e. g., it is meaningless to say "man" is a sixtieth part of "horse"; the second statement, likewise, shows this similarity since dream and prophecy are both referred to as belonging to the same species, "fruit," merely that dream is the "fruit" unrealized.

An explanation is then given of the similarity, according to Maimonides, between dream and prophecy. This similarity only obtains between their efficient and formal causes, not between their material and final causes. The efficient cause of both dream and prophecy is the Active Intellect, and the formal cause is the effluence that the Active Intellect emanates upon the prophet. (Translating Abrabanel's language here into more precise terms:[85] The Active Intellect is the efficient cause in that it provides the form of the brain which supports the imaginative and intellectual faculties; the effluence is the formal cause in that it is the form of the brain; and the amount of effluence in prophecy is greater than in true dream in that the former produces a brain able to support both a perfect intellect and imagination, while the latter only produces a perfect imagination. Abrabanel is not clear on the material and final causes. By the former he probably means the material substratum of the brain which receives the effluence or form. In dream, this matter is inferior, and, accordingly, receives an inferior form, whereas in prophecy, the matter and its corresponding form are both superior. By the final cause, the purpose of dream and prophecy is presumably meant. The purpose of prophecy, according to Maimonides, is the instruction and betterment of mankind,[86] whereas dream has no purpose in this sense; when true it is due to the chance coincidence of natural conditions.):

> As for what he (Maimonides) means, as well, by his statement, "It only differs quantitatively, not specifically," it is that in dream the effluence is scanty,[87] sufficing for the imagination alone, whereas in prophecy the effluence is so abundant that its light fills the entire "temple,"[88] the rational faculty and the imagination simultaneously.
>
> Maimonides brings two proofs from the words of the Sages to prove that dream and prophecy belong to one species. The first is from the statement they make, "dream is a sixtieth part of prophecy," and neither proportion, relation, nor comparison[89]

[84] Sec. 17, f. 14d.; also, sec. 44, f. 39c.

[85] See sec. ii of the First Proposition, *supra*, particularly the comments beginning line 80r. b. f.

[86] *Moreh* II, 37; *et al.*

[87] Rd. (l. 10) with A ולמה כיון ג'כ באומרו ואמנם יחחלף ברב או כמעט לא במין ר'ל כי בחלום יהיה השפע מועט for מועט.

[88] See n. 26.

[89] Rd. (l. 14) with A והיחס והערך for ויחס וערך.

can exist between two things[90] that differ specifically. The second is from a statement made in *Bereshith Rabbah*, "Dream is the abortive fruit of prophecy," which indicates that their essence is one, but that dream is the fruit which did not reach its perfection and ripeness, whereas prophecy is the perfect and ripe fruit.

From this (latter statement), you should understand that the cause of dream and prophecy Maimonides mentions (as the same) is neither the material nor the final cause. Rather, he refers to the efficient cause, i. e., the efficient cause of dream, which is the Active Intellect, and also to the formal cause,[91] which is the effluence that is emanated from it; the same agent and the same form are the agent and form in prophecy, despite the fact that they differ in quantity of effluence. From this difference comes the difference in the recipient, i. e., in dream the imaginative faculty alone receives the effluence, but in prophecy, both of them, the rational and imaginative faculties receive it. (77r. a. 10)

III. THE SCRIPTURAL BASIS OF THE THIRD PROPOSITION

In the third passage upon which the third proposition is based, Maimonides cites a verse from Scripture as proof of the similarity between dream and prophecy: "But why should we instruct you through the words of the Sages and leave aside the verses of Scripture, e. g., 'if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord do make Myself known unto him in a vision, I do speak with him in a dream' (Num. 12:6). Here God has declared to us the true quiddity of prophecy, and makes known to us that it is a perfection which comes in a dream or a vision. מראה (vision) is a noun derived from the verb ראה (visualize), for in a vision there comes so perfect a degree of functioning to the imaginative faculty that it envisions an object as if it existed extramentally, and the object it envisions appears as if coming to it through external sensation." Three questions are raised concerning this passage. First, how can Maimonides seek to prove the essential similarity between prophecy and true dream from the verse, "if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord make Myself known unto him in a vision, I do speak with him in a dream," seeing that this verse speaks only of prophetic dream, which admittedly is prophecy, but nowhere mentions ordinary dream, whose similarity to prophecy is the point Maimonides seeks to establish:

We must comment upon three things with regard to this

[90] Rd. (l. 14) with A דברים for מדברים.
[91] Omit (l. 19) with A שמה.

passage.[92] First, it does not appear from the Scriptural verse[93] Maimonides cites that prophecy and dream belong to one species, for the dream mentioned in the verse is a prophetic dream; therefore, it says, "if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord do make Myself known unto him in a vision, I do speak with him in a dream." Of such dream, we should say not that it belongs to the species of prophecy, but that it itself is prophecy. However, our thesis is not this, but that the unprophetic ordinary dream belongs to the species of absolute prophecy. (77r. a. 24)

Second, where in this verse does Maimonides find confirmation of his definition that prophecy "is an effluence that flows forth from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty":

Second, concerning Maimonides' statement, "Here God has declared to us the true quiddity of prophecy, and makes known to us that it is a perfection which comes in a dream or a vision;" in the verse he presents, there can be no doubt that it is clear that prophecy may occur in a dream or a vision, but the true quiddity of prophecy, which is the definition he lays down at the beginning of the chapter, is not clear from it. (77r. a. 30)

Third, why does Maimonides make the point that the root of the term מראה, which appears in the verse he cites, "I the Lord do make Myself known unto him in a vision (מראה)," is ראה (visualize):

Concerning Maimonides' additional remark, "the word מראה is a noun derived from the verb ראה, for what reason does Maimonides state מראה is derived from ראה, something which is evident from the nature of the language? What help is it to him as regards the thesis with which he is concerned? (77r. b. 2)

The answer to the first question, how Maimonides proves the essential similarity of dream and prophecy from Num. 12:6, is that the dream mentioned in this verse, in which prophecy appears, is itself an ordinary true dream. Thus the literal meaning of the verse alone establishes the fact that one mode of prophecy, dream, is identical with ordinary dream. The other mode of prophecy, vision, is then shown to be essentially similar to dream from the fact that they

[92] Literally: *language.*

[93] Literally: *verses.* The plural in Abrabanel repeats the use of the plural כתובי (Ar. נצוץ) in the *Morch.* However, Maimonides cites but one verse, and only one is involved in Abrabanel's comment. Cf. ll. 26 and 32, where the singular (בכתוב) occurs.

both possess the same essential characteristic, i. e., in both vision prophecy and dream, the imagination produces phantasies so vivid that they appear to possess real existence. And inasmuch as they both possess the same essential characteristic, they both must belong to the same species:

> It appears Maimonides proves that prophecy belongs to the species of dream from the verse[94] in that (according to the verse) it (the species of dream) consists of two (sub)-species: one, dream itself, two, vision, whose essential characteristic it is that the imagination produces representations which appear to be objects existing extramentally. This characteristic is itself the essential characteristic of dream, except that the one is called dream because that apprehension occurs during sleep, whereas the other is called vision because the apprehension itself occurs [during consciousness], yet, although it (vision) comes to a person when he is awake and conscious, after it has come, there is no doubt that the senses rest, and that the mode of apprehension in it is the same as that of dream,[95] i. e., through combinations of representations and the envisioning of images as if they were things existing in reality, as is explained in chap. 45 of this section. Therefore, Maimonides says, despite the fact that the statements of the Sages show prophecy to belong to the same species as dream, the Scriptural verses show that prophecy is nothing but dream or vision, which is something that is similar to dream in its apprehension and essential characteristic.[96] (77r. b. 4)

In answer to the second question, how Maimonides finds his definition of prophecy in Num. 12:6, Abrabanel gives a translation of the verse differing from the conventional one. Here it is the Active Intellect, not God, who speaks to Aaron and Miriam: 'if there be a prophet among you (from God), I (the Active Intellect) do reveal knowledge unto him in a vision, I do speak of Him in a dream (אם־יהיה נביאכם ה' במראה אליו אתודע בחלום אדבר־בו). Thus all the elements Maimonides mentions in his definition are included: God, who in the definition is the first and remote cause of prophecy, is revealed by the Active Intellect, the proximate cause of prophecy, through an effluence that flows upon the intellect and the imagination. That the reason is used, is implied by the use of the term אתודע to refer to the act of revelation, since the root of אתודע is ידע, "know," and the rational faculty is the instrument of human knowledge. That the imagination is used, is implied by the fact that this

[94] Rd. (l. 4) with A הכתוב for הכתובים; but see n. 93.

[95] Rd. (l. 10) with A ויהיה אופן הדשנה בד באופן השנת החלום ר'ל for יהיה אופן הדשנה בעצמה בא בענין ובאופן השנה, ר'ל.

[96] Rd. (l. 15) with A ענינה for ענייניה.

knowledge comes in a dream or vision, two states characterized by imagery, the product of the imagination:

> Maimonides interprets this verse in this manner: The one speaking to Aaron[97] and Miriam was the Active Intellect, for it was the one that emanated effluence upon them. It declared to them אם־יהיה נביאכם ה' ("if there be among you a prophet from God"), i. e., the effluence will come to you from God, who is the first cause of prophecy. However, I, (the Active Intellect, am the one who directly) speaks to you, במראה אליו אתודע ("I do reveal knowledge unto him [the prophet] in a vision"), i. e., I will emanate effluence upon the intellect, which is what is meant by the revelation of knowledge (התוודעות). This occurs together with a vision or a dream, which are (both) the work of the imaginative faculty.[98]
>
> According to this interpretation, the true definition of prophecy does appear in this verse. For when it says אם־יהיה נביאכם ה',[99] this indicates that prophecy is an effluence which flows from God; and when it says,[100] in the language of someone speaking about Him,[101] אדבר־בו (בחלום) ("I do speak of Him in a dream"), this indicates that it (prophecy) comes through the medium of the Active Intellect, who was the one speaking to them; and when it says במראה ("in a vision"), (and) בחלום ("in a dream"), this indicates that the effluence also comes upon the imaginative faculty. Here you have the true quiddity of prophecy. (77r. b. 15)

The answer to the third question, why Maimonides makes the point that the term מראה (vision) is derived from ראה (visualize), is that Maimonides, by this remark, completes his proof that prophecy and dream belong to the same species taken from the verse, "if there be a prophet among you (from God), I (the Active Intellect) do reveal knowledge unto him in a vision (מראה), I do speak of Him in a dream." For after Maimonides has explained that the prophetic dream referred to in the verse is itself only ordinary dream, and thus establishes that ordinary dream and prophetic dream not only belong to the same species, but are identical as well, he must still show that the other mode of prophecy, vision, also belongs to the species of dream. Hence he states that the essential characteristic of dream is that images so vivid are visualized that

[97] Rd. (l. 16) with A לאהרון for כן לא, which L correctly emends to לאהרן.

[98] Rd. (l. 19) with A הכח פעל for הפעל.

[99] Rd. (l. 21) with A נביאכם ה' for נביאכם.

[100] Omit (l. 22) אתודע with L.

[101] If בעדו is translated "on His behalf," then אדבר בו is to be translated "I do speak for him." The text is somewhat ambiguous here.

they appear to exist extramentally, and this, he says, is also the essential characteristic of vision prophecy, because the root of the term מראה (vision) is ראה (visualize), which means that in vision prophecy, too, a person visualizes imaginary objects as if they were objects existing in reality. Therefore, since dream and vision prophecy both possess the same essential characteristic, they both belong to the same species:

> By the fact[102] that the verse enumerates these two kinds (of prophecy), "I do reveal knowledge unto him in a *vision*, I do speak of Him in a *dream*," it informs us that the perfection of prophecy comes in these two modes, namely, dream and vision. Hence, in order to prove that the essential characteristic of the vision degree is the same as that of dream, Maimonides says, "מראה (vision) is a noun derived from the verb ראה (visualize)," i. e.,[103] it is for this reason that that degree of prophecy is called vision, because in it there comes to the imaginative faculty so great a degree[104] of perfection and effluence from the Active Intellect that it visualizes the object as if it existed extramentally, and it seems to him (the prophet) that that thing he visualizes comes to him through (external) sensation. (77r. b. 25)

IV. THE PROCESS WHEREBY REALISTIC IMAGERY IS PERCEIVED IN SLEEP

The apprehension of imaginary objects with realistic clarity has been described as the essential characteristic of both dream and prophecy. In the following comment, which is based upon a passage in the *De Sensu*,[105] the psychological process whereby this apprehension occurs is described. During sleep, the imagination sets up a series of motions that result in the stimulation of the external senses. The external senses, in response to this stimulation, evoke the impressions they still retain from their activity during consciousness. These impressions are then perceived by the sleeping person, to whom they appear as direct perceptions of objects existing in reality:

> In his statement, "(in a vision . . . the imaginative faculty . . . envisions an object) as if it existed extramentally, and the object it envisions appears as if coming to it through external sensation," Maimonides means to call attention to a certain problem explained in the *De Sensu*.[106] As it says there: 'Since a sleeping person senses as if he were seeing, hearing, smelling,

[102] Rd. (l. 25) with A ומאשר for וכש"ה.

[103] Rd. (l. 28) with A ר"ל שעל for שעל.

[104] Rd. (l. 28) with A עד for מה, which L correctly emends to עד.

[105] Cf. Blumberg, *op. cit.*, p. 45; also Narboni, *op. cit.* Abrabanel's version almost exactly follows Narboni, but appears to be a shortened version of the passage in Blumberg's *édition définitive.*

[106] Rd (l. 2) with A החוש והמוחש for חוש המוחש.

tasting, and feeling, and no such objects are there extramentally, it follows necessarily that the point of origination of this movement in sleep is at its terminus[107] in consciousness. And since this movement in consciousness originates with the sensible objects present extramentally and terminates at the memory faculty, it must be that its origination in sleep is at this faculty. But since the rational and memory faculties are inactive during sleep,[108] the agent during sleep is the imagination, which is in constant motion and works continuously at forming imaginations, framing parables, and shifting from imagination to imagination. At times it does this with the images in the common sense, at other times it apprehends an impression of that object it imagines from a source outside the mind. This occurs either by apprehending that object itself, or that which is similar to it and a representation of it.[109] Thus it is clear from this that, of the faculties of the soul, dreams are to be attributed to the imaginative faculty.

In consciousness, sensible objects existing extramentally stimulate the senses; however, in sleep, when the imaginative faculty imagines some object it has taken from outside the mind or from the memory faculty, it turns about and stimulates the common sense, and that common sense stimulates its individual faculties. It happens then to a person[110] that he will apprehend sensible objects even though they do not exist extramentally, for their impressions have already come upon the senses. At times, the same thing occurs during consciousness in the case of one who is frightened or sick, because it (the imaginative faculty) goes out[111] of the control of the rational faculty, as it does during sleep.' (77r. b. 32)

V. ABRABANEL'S CRITIQUE OF THE THIRD PROPOSITION

Maimonides' third proposition is that prophecy and dream belong to the same species, inasmuch as the apprehension of phantasy with vivid realism is an essential characteristic of both. This proposition is false, argues Abrabanel, because in prophecy the imagination apprehends not phantasy, but real objects

[107] Omit (ll. 4 f.) צ"ל עד כלותה, L's erroneous emendation.

[108] Abrabanel's version here is evidently incorrect. Rd. (l. 7) with Blumberg, *ibid.*, אבל כי כח המחשבה והזכרונות בעבור שהיו בלתי פועלים בשינה, אבל הפועל בשינה, הכרכה for לפי שהפועל בשינה הוא הכרכה.

[109] Rd. (l. 11) with Blumberg, *ibid.*, וחקויו for בחקויו.

[110] Omit (l. 16) או; cf. Blumberg, *ibid.*

[111] Rd. (l. 18) מתחת for מתחלת; cf. Narboni, *op. cit.*

miraculously revealed by God. Maimonides' fundamental error is his belief that prophecy is a natural event produced by the prophet's faculties, whereas, it is, in fact, a miracle of God only received by his faculties. Therefore, since the objects of the imagination in dream are phantasy, and, in prophecy, objective realities, dream and prophecy do not possess the same essential characteristic, and, consequently, do not belong to the same species:

> The third proposition is that dream and prophecy belong to the same species and only differ quantitatively, since they both result from the action and combinations of the imaginative faculty which take place when the effluence comes upon it. Therefore, [since the effluence is most effective during sleep, when the external senses are at rest], the imagination's predictive activity takes place when the senses are at rest and have ceased (from their activities). Maimonides attempts to prove this proposition from the statements by the Sages, "dream is a sixtieth part of prophecy," as well as from the scriptural verse, "if there be a prophet among you from God, I do reveal knowledge unto him in a vision (מראה), I do speak about Him in a dream," concerning which Maimonides explains that מראה is derived from ראה which (indicates) that (in a vision) perfection so great in its actions comes to the imaginative faculty that it envisions[112] the object as if it existed extramentally, as I have explained above.
>
> This proposition, according to the fundamental principles of the divine Torah, is clearly false, because dream, in its combinations and formations, is the work of the imaginative faculty. Thus if at times it (the imagination) is found to be powerful,[113] this is due to the fact that it is regulated and because the intuitive faculty is itself powerful. This is what Maimonides calls "the effluence of the Active Intellect," namely, that the form which is poured upon it (the imagination) at the beginning of its formation is the mean, in accordance with a proper disposition, — which is the reason that the Active Intellect there poured a proper form upon it. But while there can be no doubt that the action of such a particular dream is produced by the imaginative faculty, not so prophecy, which is divine revelation that comes to the soul of the prophet in such measure as His supreme wisdom sees fit. How, then, can they both belong to one species, seeing that such dream is the action of the faculty itself, whereas prophecy is the action of God? What hath the straw to do with the wheat? And even though the prophet at

[112] Rd. (l. 30) with A שיראה for שראה.

[113] Rd. (l. 33) with emendation in L החיוק for ההיוק; A has ההוק.

> times envisions images in his prophecy similar to the appearance of those that occur in dreams, it cannot be said on this account that they belong to one species, just as the image that appears in a mirror does not belong to the species of the substantial figure that exists outside it. (79v. a. 24)

Abrabanel then turns to Scripture to prove that prophecy differs essentially from dream. From a passage in Jeremiah, he cites three distinctions between the two experiences: Prophecy is received directly from God, whereas dream is produced by the person himself; the truth of prophecy is certain to the prophet, whereas the dreamer is unsure of the truth of his dream; the prophet, upon receiving prophecy, feels a surge of new power within himself, whereas the dreamer, upon having a dream, experiences no unusual sensations whatever:

> The prophet Jeremiah has already clearly expressed the falsity of this statement in his remark, "I have heard what the prophets have said, That prophesy lies in my name, saying: 'I have dreamed, I have dreamed.' . . . The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; And he that hath My word, let him speak My word faithfully. What hath the straw to do with the wheat? Saith the Lord. Is not my word like as fire? Saith the Lord; And like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" (Jer. 23:25–29). That is to say, the true prophet does not belong to the same species as the dreamer of dreams, because dreams come through the power and imagination of man. Thus he (Jeremiah) says, "The prophet that hath a dream, (let him tell a dream)," i. e., if the dream comes from himself through his imaginative faculty, he should tell it as the degree of dream. However, prophecy does not come from (the prophet) himself, and thus it is said, "And he that hath My word, let him speak My word faithfully."
>
> It is clear in this (passage) that the prophet envisions nothing from himself and hears nothing through the action of his imagination; they are, rather, the words of God that come to him. Therefore, he has no doubts concerning them. If, however, what he envisions were the work of his imaginative faculty, he would have doubts concerning his prophecy, hence it is said "let him speak My word faithfully."[114] Moreover, since someone could say that the appearance of images in prophecy is similar to the appearance of images in dream,[115] he says, therefore, to answer this, "What hath straw to do with the wheat? Saith the Lord.

[114] Abrabanel's point is more clearly made by a literal translation of the verse "let him speak my word as truth" (ידבר דברי אמת).

[115] Rd. (l. 56) with A הצורות בחלום for הצורות, correctly emended by L to הצורות (בחלום).

> Is not My word like fire? . . . And like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces." That is to say, when the prophetic effluence comes to the prophet, he feels a great strength within himself, which is not so in the case of dreams, for they speak falsely, they are thoughts and imaginations that have no substance. This proves that prophecy belongs neither to the same species nor the same genus as dream. (79v. a. 43)

Having established on the basis of Scripture that there is an essential distinction between dream and prophecy, Abrabanel then seeks to refute the proofs Maimonides brings from the Sages. First he points out that Maimonides' interpretation of the remark that "dream is a sixtieth part of prophecy" is incorrect. The Sages did not mean to compare dream to prophecy, which would require them to belong to the same species, but the accuracy of dreams to that of prophecy, a comparison that in no way implies a similarity in their essential natures. Consequently, the Sages' statement means simply that dreams come true one-sixtieth of the time that prophecy does:

> As for the statement by the Sages, "dream is a sixtieth part of prophecy," it is said only with reference to the accuracy (of dream). For despite the fact that the human dream is accurate at times, it is not on this account equal[116] to the accuracy of prophecy, for truth that comes in dreams occurs rarely. As they (the Sages) themselves said, "There is no dream without absurd elements," so that truth is found in dreams only one-sixtieth of the times that it is found in prophecy. (79v. a. 60)

Similarly, by their remark, "Dream is the unripe fruit of prophecy," the Sages did not mean to imply that prophecy belongs to the same species as dreams, for the unripe fruit here referred to in no way received the same form that the ripe fruit possesses. Indeed, the unripe fruit is to the ripe fruit as matter is to form, and it is for lack of the form of the ripe fruit that the unripe fruit is destined to perish, since without this form it is unable to make use of such natural aids to growth as, for example, the sun. It is this unripe fruit that the Sages compare to dream, for dream likewise is material, since it is the product of the imagination, which is a corporeal faculty, and it, too, is destined to perish, since its intuitions remain unfulfilled. Prophecy, however, is like the ripe fruit that has received the proper form, it fulfills its essential perfection, and all its promises come to fruition:

> As for their remark, "Dream is the unripe fruit of prophecy," it offers no contradiction to what I have said. It is a wonderful simile, but not from that point of view which Maimonides took of it. Rather it is that the unripe fruit is the matter of the fruit, which does not reach the point of receiving the form whereby

[116] Rd. (l. 62) with A ישתוה for ישתנה.

it can acquire the warmth of the sun. Consequently, it surely withers, because it has nothing by which to sustain itself. So it is in the case of dream, its phantasy and imagination are material, derived from itself, and therefore, their promises come to nought in time and fall to the ground, like a material thing that has not received the true form which is to come to it from the outside. However, prophecy receives its effluence from God, and thus it is a ripe fruit that is good to eat, "And whose leaf does not wither; And in whatsoever it doeth it shall prosper."[117] (Ps. 1:3). Dream does not belong to the same species as prophecy, because things that have different forms do not belong to one species. (79v. a. 65)

Continuing his efforts to refute the proofs Maimonides brings for the third proposition, Abrabanel now turns to the proof taken from Scripture. The verse Maimonides cites to establish that prophecy and dream are natural events belonging to the same species is Num. 12:6, which, Abrabanel has explained, is translated by Maimonides, "if there be a prophet among you from God, I (the Active Intellect) do reveal knowledge unto him in a vision, I do speak about Him in a dream." This verse is interpreted thusly: the fact that the Active Intellect is speaking, indicates that prophecy, like dream and all other natural events, is produced by God through the medium of the Active Intellect; and the fact that prophecy appears as dream and vision, two states characterized by the appearance of imagery, indicates that prophecy, like dream, is produced by the imagination.

This interpretation of the verse is rejected by Abrabanel, who offers instead the following: When Aaron and Miriam complained to God about Moses over the Cushite woman whom he had married, (Num. 12:1), a prophecy promptly came directly from God to their intellects alone, as it ordinarily came to Moses, in order that they might comprehend the power of Moses' apprehensions. They were, however, unable to receive it, since they were accustomed to receive prophecy with both the imagination and the intellect, and mediated through the Active Intellect. The function of the imagination in prophecy is similar to that of a mirror, it reflects the images it receives from the Active Intellect and thus enables the prophet to see them; hence the reason the term מראה (vision) is employed is not that its root is ראה (visualize), but that it also has the meaning of mirror. Thus God here says that if there are prophets in the future, who, like Aaron and Miriam, are unable to apprehend purely intellectual objects in prophecy, He will send prophecy to them in a מראה (vision), i. e., prophecy that comes to the imagination, since in such prophecy the imagination functions as a mirror. In addition, this verse contains the conditions under which speech is heard in ordinary prophecy: Moses heard speech when he was awake, but the ordinary prophet hears speech in dreams alone, when he is asleep, for

[117] Literally: "And in whatsoever he doeth *he* shall prosper." The pronoun refers back to "man" in v. 1.

his imagination is sufficiently powerful to receive speech only at that time. Consequently, the reason God is said to speak to the prophet in dreams, in this verse, is not to equate dream prophecy with ordinary dream, but to inform us that dream prophecy comes to the prophet during sleep, as dream comes to the dreamer:

> As for the verse[118] from Scripture, אם־יהיה נביאכם ה' במראה אליו אתודע בחלום אדבר־בו. (Num. 12:6), we will not concede to Maimonides that the speaker there was the Active Intellect, nor is the interpretation of the verse as (given in) his comments. Rather, its meaning is that when Aaron and Miriam spoke against Moses, a prophecy suddenly appeared to them from God without an intermediary, as it was wont to come to Moses, in order that they might feel the intensity of the apprehension. But owing to the fact that, unlike Moses, they were unprepared[119] to receive it, it was told[120] to them that their status was unequal to that of Moses. For they would usually envision the (prophetic) objects as a person[121] sees objects in a polished mirror; when [substantial][122] figures[123] are present opposite it they are reflected within it. The prophet envisions those objects reflected in his imagination in the same way as he would see them reflected in a mirror. This is the meaning of (the verse), אם־יהיה נביאכם ה' במראה אליו אתודע, i. e., if one of you becomes a prophet, it will be impossible for his[124] degree (of prophecy) to ascend to where it apprehends the incorporeal objects as they are, but, במראה אליו אתודע, i. e., the revelation that comes to the prophet will occur as one sees objects in a mirror (מראה). And if he hears the sound of words, it will occur when the senses have ceased, as it is said, בחלום אדבר־בו, i. e., speech comes to him as one who dreams dreams, when his senses have ceased. He will not hear the voice when he is awake, as Moses did. Therefore, He continues, saying, "My servant Moses is not so" (*ibid.*, 7), and He enumerates four virtues in his (Moses') prophecy) as contrasted to four defects that are present in what a person sees through a mirror. (79v. a. 74)

[118] See n. 93; cf. 79v. b. 2, *infra*.

[119] Rd. (l. 4) with A בלחי for בלי.

[120] Rd. (l. 5) with A נאפר for אפר.

[121] Rd. (l. 6) with A אותם האדם for אותם.

[122] Abrabanel employs the term צורה to refer to both the real object and the image of the object; cf. 79v. a. 42. To avoid ambiguity, when the real object is intended, צורה will be translated by "[substantial] figure."

[123] Rd. (l. 6) with A יעמדו הצורות for יעמדו.

[124] Rd. (l. 9) with A סדרנתו for סדרנתי.

The four defects that characterize the perception of images in a mirror also describe prophecy that is received through the imagination. In the following series of comments, Abrabanel compares these characteristics with those that distinguish the prophecy of Moses. First, the ordinary prophet understands little of the images he beholds in a vision, just as a person receives only a superficial knowledge of the images he sees in a mirror. Hence it was necessary for an angel to interpret these images to the prophet. However, this was not true as regards Moses, who saw only real figures, and completely understood the figures he saw:

> The first defect is that a person sees only the outer surfaces of the images that he sees in a mirror; he does not, in the mirror, see what is inside them. The same situation occurs among the prophets; despite the fact that they would see objects in prophecy, they could neither know nor understand their inner (meaning) unless the angel speaking to them would reveal it, as it is written, " 'Knowest thou not what these are?' And I said: 'No, my Lord.' " (Zech. 4:13), and Daniel says, "And I heard but I understood not" (Dan. 12:8). Moses, however, did not see images superficially through a mirror, but entered[125] into them to their innermost degree of secrecy. Thus it is said, "My servant Moses is not so; he is trusted in all my house," (Num. 12:7), i. e., he enters into the entire house, room by room, and nothing is hidden from him. (79v. b. 15)

Second, the ordinary prophet does not hear speech in prophecy from the angel who appears to speak to him in his visions, just as a person does not hear the images that he sees speaking in a mirror. The speech heard from an angel in prophecy actually comes from the one who creates all prophecy, God, and the prophets, therefore, attributed all their prophecies to Him. However, this was not true as regards Moses, who heard speech from the very Being that he beheld in prophecy:

> The second defect[126] that is found in the images which appear[127] in a mirror is that the image seen there does not respond to the one who views it, nor answer anything to him. Whereas he is able to see gestures of the face, hands, or other[128] limbs of that image, depending upon what the [substantial] figure opposite it does, the image that is impressed in the mirror produces neither sounds nor words unless sound or speech come from the existent figure that is present opposite it. For sound

[125] Rd. (l. 21) with A נכנס for רואה.
[126] Rd. (l. 24) with A החסרון השני for ב'.
[127] Rd. (l. 24) with A בצורות for הצורות.
[128] Rd. (l. 26) with A או בשאר for ושאר.

and words do not issue from the image that appears in the mirror, which is an impression of a [substantial] figure standing opposite it, but from the primary, original figure opposite it. The situation is similar among the (ordinary) prophets, for despite the fact that their prophecy comes through an angel, they do not obtain words from him, and he commands and answers them nothing. Rather, it is God, the substantial and real figure that is impressed there in that angel, who is the one who speaks to them and appears to them in such a vision. Therefore, all the prophets attributed their prophecies to God: "And the word of the Lord came to me saying," and, "And the Lord said unto me"; for despite[129] the fact their prophecy came from an angel that spoke to them, who is like[130] the image impressed in a mirror, the words came from God alone. As for Moses, it was not so, for that which he saw did itself speak to him. Therefore, He says, "with him do I speak mouth to mouth" (*ibid.*, 8), i. e., he did not understand the words through the gestures of an image impressed in a vision as did the other prophets, for with him does He "speak mouth to mouth," and he may "decide after the hearing of his ears" (Isa. 11:3),[131] and "that which the lips of Him who speaks to him know, they shall speak sincerely" (Job 33:3).[132] (79v. b. 24)

Third, the speech that the ordinary prophet heard in prophecy often did not impart the real meaning of the vision he saw, but an allegory in which the real interpretation lay hidden, just as a person looking into a mirror sees only a copy of the figure he actually desires to see. Hence the speech that the ordinary prophets heard was often couched in parables and allegories; however, this was not true of Moses, who heard clear and explicit speech always:

The third defect[133] is that the one who sees an image in a mirror does not see the desired figure itself, but an iconic likeness, which is its reflection,[134] reproduced there. A similar situation occurs to the prophets, for even regarding those words that were apprehended by them, many were apprehended by them only in parables and riddles, in which their meanings were reproduced as a reflection in a mirror.[135] This is clear from all the parables of the prophets, as it is said, "put forth a riddle, and speak a parable" (Ezek. 17:2), and, "Is he not a maker of

[129] Rd. (l. 35) with A לפי for ולפי. [130] Rd. (l. 36) with A כצורה for בצורה.
[131] Literally: *Neither decide after the hearing of his ears.*
[132] Literally: *And that which my lips know they shall speak sincerely.*
[133] Rd. (l. 41) with A החסרון השלישי for ג'.
[134] Rd. (l. 42) with A הנבואה for הנבואה.
[135] Rd. (l. 45) with A כבבואה במראה for בנבואת המראה.

parables?" (Ezek. 21:5), which[136] is what makes their (the prophecies') meanings so obscure to the prophet[137] that they require a prophetic explanation,[138] as is clear from their (the prophets') remarks, or it would have been difficult for them (the prophets) to understand them. As for Moses, it was not so. Thus it is said, "(with him do I speak mouth to mouth), even manifestly (ומראה), and not in dark speeches" (Num. 12:8), i. e., he did not look into a מראה with a *qamez*, which is the mirror of the other prophets,[139] but he prophesied by *seeing*[140] the thing itself. Hence he did not apprehend it (his prophecy) in riddles and parables, nothing was changed for him, and understanding it was not difficult for him. (79v. b. 41)

Fourth, the ordinary prophet's attention is turned away from the objects he wishes to apprehend, just as the person looking into a mirror has his back turned to the real objects he wishes to see. The reason for this is that the prophet wishes to apprehend the incorporeal objects of prophecy, but he is able to grasp them only as they are allegorized in his imagination. And since the imagination is a corporeal faculty dependent for its strength upon the health of the body, the prophet must turn to the needs of his body to develop the imaginative capacity that enables him to receive prophecy. Thus the prophet turns away from the incorporeal objects of prophecy to that for which he has no real concern, his corporeal needs. Moreover, just as a person who looks at an object through a mirror sees it in reverse, so does the prophet who receives prophecy through his imagination see it with some degree of distortion. However, this was not true as regards Moses, who received prophecy solely with his intellect, an incorporeal faculty, and who consequently, apprehended the incorporeal objects of prophecy directly and without distortion:

The fourth defect[141] is that the face of the one looking in the mirror must perforce be turned toward it, and his back toward the substantial figure that is impressed there, were it not thus, he could not see the image in the mirror. Consequently, the things that are seen are reversed, for all the objects that appear on the right are on the left, and those that appear on the left are on the right. A situation similar to this occurs to the prophets, since in order for them to see the images in that מראה, namely, the mirror peculiar to them, they are first required to prepare their bodies and refresh themselves, either[142] by means

[136] The antecedent of אשר is the occurrence of parables.
[137] Rd. (l. 47) שיסתיר הרבה מהכוונות for שיסתיר הנביא מהכוונות.
[138] Rd. (l. 47) with A ביאורי for ביאורו.
[139] Rd. (l. 50) with A שאר הנביאים for שראה הנביא.
[140] מראה with a segol as in Num. 12:8.
[141] Rd. (l. 52) החסרון הרביעי for ד'.
[142] Rd. (l. 57) with A אם for שם.

of food and drink as, for example, Isaac, who said, "Bring me venison, and make me savory food" (Gen. 27:7), or by means of music, as [Elisha] said, "But now bring me a minstrel" (II Kings 3:15). And there are cases[143] other than these of turning[144] one's back to the desired object, and one's face to that which is received, which was not so in the case of Moses. For this reason it is said, "and the similitude of the Lord does he see" (Num. 12:8), i. e., he looked at the substantial figure, and did not have to turn his back to it to prepare himself, for he was always prepared and ready for prophecy. Hence inasmuch as their (Aaron's and Miriam's) prophecy came through a dim mirror, namely, the מראה that is mentioned, in which[145] those defects are found, and Moses' prophecy was free of all this, therefore the conclusion of (His) remarks is, "wherefore then were you not afraid to speak against My servant, against Moses?" (79v. b. 52)

In conclusion, Abrabanel epitomizes his refutation of the proof Maimonides brings from Scripture for his position that prophecy is produced naturally by the imagination. Moreover, he says, such a position is contrary to common sense, for it reduces prophecy to the status of hallucinations, figments that appear to come from God, but which actually derive from the imagination:

Thus it is clear from all this (discussion) that the term employed by Scripture (in the phrase) במראה אליו אתודע ("I the Lord make Myself known unto him in a vision") is not derived from ראה (visualize), nor does it refer to the imaginative faculty and its combinations so strengthening (in prophecy) that the object (envisioned) appears as if it comes from outside the mind. For this is the action of epileptics and sick people, and far be it from God to make His prophets similar to fools, madmen, and the sick by the impression of images upon their eyes that do not exist outside the mind. מראה is not employed to refer to this, but to the objects they saw in their souls, which is their mirror and their glass. It follows from this that prophecy does not belong to the species of dream, and this is what I wished to explain. (79v. b. 67)

(To be continued)

[143] Rd. (l. 59) with A חולת זה for חולתן זה.

[144] Rd. (l. 60) with A הפכת for הסבת; cf. l. 62.

[145] Rd. (l. 65) with A אשר for ואשר, and remove parentheses from בו, erroneously deleted by L.

EIBENSCHÜTZIANA

(Die Zwei Ausgaben des *Toledoth bne Jehonathan* in ihrer Beziehung zu der Polemik um R. Jonathan Eibenschütz.)

BERNHARD BRILLING, Münster, Germany

(Fortsetzung)

ANHANG:

Die Nachkommen des RJE*

In der nachfolgenden Zusammenstellung habe ich versucht, einen Überblick über die bisher nachweisbaren Nachkommen des RJE zu geben. Dabei habe ich mich in der Hauptsache auf genealogische Angaben beschränkt.

Als Hauptquelle für die bisherigen Darstellungen über die Nachkommen des RJE habe ich das Kapitel benutzt, das in dem zweiten Band des hebräisch geschriebenen Werkes *Gedulath Jonathan* von D. Zinz (Pietrikow, 1934), auf S. 185-207 enthalten ist. Darin sind die Angaben der vorher erschienenen Werke von B. Beer und G. Klemperer benutzt. Auf Grund meiner Nachforschungen, die ich seit vielen Jahren angestellt habe, u. a. in den Archivalien der jüdischen Gemeinden von Berlin, Breslau und Dresden, konnte ich Material über die Nachkommen des RJE ermitteln, das über die Angaben von Zinz hinausgeht. Für Auskünfte habe ich ferner meinem Kollegen und Freunde Dr. J. Jacobson (letzter Leiter des Gesamtarchivs der Deutschen Juden in Berlin, jetzt in England), sowie Archivaren des In- und Auslandes und anderen Forschern, die in den Anmerkungen aufgeführt werden, zu danken.

Nur dort habe ich Quellen angegeben, wo es sich um Nachkommen handelt, die bisher nicht bekannt waren bzw. nicht bei Zinz erwähnt werden oder bei denen ich Zinz berichtigen oder ergänzen konnte. Die Forschung nach dem Schicksal der Nachkommen des RJE gibt aber noch manches Rätsel auf und ist noch nicht abgeschlossen, wie

* Continued from vol. XXXIV.

sich der Leser selbst überzeugen kann. Allerdings gelang es mir, eine weitere Tarnung bzw. Verschlüsselung von Beer zu lösen, und zwar bezüglich der von Beer "Alexis" benannten Familie, in die Dr. Gabriel b. Nathan Eibenschütz einheiratete (s. u. II).

Das vorliegende Material wird, wie ich hoffe, nicht nur als Grundlage für weitere Forschungen über die Nachkommen des RJE dienen, sondern kann auch zur Beantwortung der Frage beitragen, ob man aus der ehelichen Verbindung der Eibenschütznachkommen mit den hier erwähnten Familien (von denen einige z. B. für die Taufe besonders anfällig waren) Rückschlüsse auf die Stellung dieser Familien bzw. der Eibenschütznachkommen zum Sabbathianismus bzw. zur frankistischen Bewegung ziehen kann.

Dies sind die neun Kinder des RJE, deren bisher von mir festgestellte Nachkommen auf den folgenden Seiten aufgeführt werden, und zwar in der von Zinz gewählten Reihenfolge:

I. Jehuda Löb = Löbel Jonas Eibenschütz

II. Nathan Neta = Nathan Jonas Eibenschütz

III. Mordechai = Marcus Jonas Eibenschütz

IV. Jechiel Michel = Michel Jonas Eibenschütz

V. Benjamin Seew Wolf = Wolf Jonas Eibenschütz, genannt (Baron) von Adlersthal

VI. Schewa Eibenschütz, verehelichte Bondi.

VII. Hitzel Eibenschütz, verehelichte Fränkel.

VIII. Nissel Eibenschütz, verehelichte Gad.

IX. Rebecka Eibenschütz, verehelichte Pfalzburg.

I. *Jehuda Löb = Löbel Jonas Eibenschütz*

geb. ca. 1730 in Prag; gest. 9. Nov. 1772 in Dresden.[1]
verheiratet in Prag (?) mit seiner Cousine Schewa, Tochter des Salman Turnau und der Kreindel.[2]

Kinder:

1. Isaak Itzig, geb. ca. 1770 in ?,[3] gest. 5596 / 1835/36 in Prag (?). Er war zweimal verheiratet:

   Die erste Frau war: Roesel,[4] Tochter des Jakob Moses Branis aus Breslau. Die Heirat fand am 6. August 1801 in Breslau statt.[5] Rösel ist ca. 1782 in Breslau (?) geboren und am 30. Sept. 1804 in Dresden verstorben. Die zweite Frau war ?. Die Heirat soll in Prag stattgefunden haben.

   Kinder:

   a. Aus erster Ehe:

      Schewa, geb. 7. Juni 1802 in Dresden.

2. Aron, geb. . . . in Dresden (?), gest. 13. Feb. 1829 in Dresden, unverh.

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 185–187.

[1] Löbel Eibenschütz wird seit 1760/61 in den Dresdner Akten aufgeführt. In den Familienregistern der Dresdner Jüdischen Gemeinde ist er unter Familie Nr. 320 ff. verzeichnet.

[2] Kreindel, die Mutter seiner Frau, war eine Tochter des Isaak Spira, d. h. die Schwester seiner Mutter Elkele.

[3] Die Geburtsregister der Dresdner Jüdischen Gemeinde beginnen erst im Jahre 1786 87. In den Verzeichnissen des Dresdner Staatsarchivs ist angegeben: Löbel Eibeschützes hinterlassener Sohn Isaak, Webergasse 121, ist am "18.9. 1798 aus der Fremde gekommen." Ferner heißt es dort: Isak "hat am 30. 8. 1801 seine Frau Rösgen, mit welcher er sich den 6. d.M. in Breslau verheiratet hatte, anher gebracht."

[4] Über die erste Frau des Isaak und ihre Familie (Branis resp. Breinis) s. ausführlich in der vorliegenden Arbeit. Es ist noch hinzuzufügen, daß ein weiterer getaufter Schwiegersohn des Jakob Branis (d. h. Schwager des Löbel Eibenschütz) der Arzt Dr. Fischer (Nathan Zwi Hirsch ben Seew Wolf) war, der am 10. Juli 1808 Freidche, die Tochter des Jakob Moses Branis und seiner Frau Liebe Tochter des R. Mendel, in Breslau heiratete und sich 1815 mit seiner ganzen Familie (als: Dr. Nikolaus Wolfgang Fischer) in Breslau taufen ließ. Professor Christlieb Julius Branis (früher: Israel) Branis, der Schwager des Löbel Eibenschütz, war mit einer Tochter des Arztes Dr. Elias Henschel verheiratet, dessen Sohn (Professor A. W. E. F. Henschel) gleichfalls zum Christentum übertrat; s. de le Roi, *Geschichte der evangelischen Judenmission*, 1. Teil (2. A., Leipzig 1899) S. 240 und 242.

[5] Heiratsregister der Breslauer jüdischen Gemeinde Nr. 302 (17. Ab 5561). Der Trauschein wurde am 4. August 1801 ausgestellt.

II. *Nathan Neta = Nathan Jonas Eibenschütz*

geb. . . . in Prag (?)
gest. 16. August 1789 in Dresden;[1]
heiratete vor 1751 in Prag (?): Rebecka, Tochter des Jehuda Löb Ulmo (Ulm) aus Prag, geb. . . . in Prag, gest. 6. Feb. 1794 in Köthen.[2]

Kinder:

1. Jehuda Löb, starb als Kind am 25. Juli 1750 in Prag.
2. Matel, starb als Kind 10. April 1751 in Altona.
3. Israel, geb. . . . . , gest. 15. Juni 1801 in Dresden;
heiratete 1759 in Altona: Dina, Tochter des Vorstehers Elia halewi.[3]

Kinder:

Über Kinder aus seiner Ehe liegen bisher keine Angaben vor. Aber vielleicht handelt es sich bei den im folgenden Aufgeführten um seine Tochter, bzw. Enkelin:

Tochter (?): vielleicht Ester, verehel. Kohn, gest. 1781 in Teplitz-Schönau. Sie wird im Beerdigungsregister der jüdischen Gemeinde Teplitz bezeichnet als: "Frau Ester, die Enkelin des R. Jonathan Eibenschütz." s. A. Rosenzweig, "Skizze zur Geschichte der Juden in Teplitz," in *AZdJ*, 1887 (Jgg. 51), Nr. 3, S. 46, sowie F. Weiss: *Aus Geschichte und Leben der Teplitzer Judengemeinde* (Brünn-Prag, 1932), S. 20.

Enkelin (?): vielleicht: Marianne, verwitwete Fischer, geb. 1776 in (?), gest. 28. Jan. 1879 zu Karlsbad. In Rahmers *Israelitischer*

[1] Nathan Eibenschütz beantragte am 2. März 1754 von Altona aus die Konzession zur Niederlassung in Dresden, wo er sich "mit seinen wenigen Capitalien nähren" will. Vom sächsischen Minister Graf Brühl erhielt er am 20. März 1754 einen Kammerpaß, der ihn zum Wohnen in Dresden mit seiner Familie und sechs Bedienten berechtigte; s. Fritz Költzsch, "Kursachsen und die Juden zur Zeit Brühls" (Diss. Leipzig 1928) S. 246. Das Todesdatum ist in dem Sterberegister der jüdischen Gemeinde Dresden verzeichnet.

[2] Der Name Ulmo (entstanden aus: Ulm) wird nachher zum Familiennamen Ullmann. Ob und wie diese Prager Familie mit der Mannheimer Familie gleichen Namens zusammenhängt, in die ihre Tochter Schöndel einheiratete, wäre festzustellen.

[3] Der Familienname "Zwebenmacher," den der Schwiegervater des Israel nach Zinz II, S. 188 führt, ist mir bei meinen Forschungen in den Hamburger Akten nicht begegnet. Er dürfte wohl auf Jacob Emden zurückgehen, der den von ihm gehaßten Personen und speziell den Angehörigen und Anhängern des RJE lächerlich wirkende und bösartige Spitznamen zu geben pflegte. Das gleiche dürfte auch für den anderen Beinamen des Elia "Grüner" gelten; s. Ch. Wirszubski in: *Zion* VII (1942), S. 92, Anm. 12.

Wochenschrift vom 5. Feb. 1879 (X, 6), S. 49 wird in einem Bericht aus Karlsbad vom 29. Januar 1879 mitgeteilt: "Gestern starb hier im Alter von 103 Jahren die Witwe Marianne Fischer aus Lichtenstadt. Dieselbe war eine Urenkelin von R. Jonathan Eibenschütz. Lebhaft erzählte sie oft von den Anfeindungen, welchen ihre Familie in früheren Jahren ausgesetzt war, da diese zu Lichtenstadt ihrer Abstammung wegen zu den "Schäbsen" gezählt wurde, ein Ausdruck, womit man bekanntlich die Anhänger des Schabbathai Zwi kennzeichnete."

Vielleicht ist diese Marianne Fischer mit der 1833/34 in Karlsbad erwähnten Margarete Fischer identisch; s. I. Ziegler, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Juden in Karlsbad* (K. 1913), S. 37, 71, 73, 75.

4. Isaak Itzig, geb. . . . . , gest. 9. Juni 1828 in Dresden, unverheiratet.[4]

5. Dr. med. Gabriel Eibenschütz, geb. 1753 (?) in Dresden; gest. in Berlin 7. Nov. 1847 (94-jährig);

er heiratete ca. 1793 Rahel (Pessel?), Tochter des Bär Marcus (Mortier) aus Dessau,[5] geb. ca. 1775 in Dessau, gest. 13.11.1850 in Berlin.[6]

[4] Über die aktive Rolle des Isaak E. innerhalb der Dresdner Jüdischen Gemeinde bzw. Chewra Kadischa s. Jacob R. Marcus: *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto* (Cincinnati 1947), S. 157 ff.

[5] Nach Beer (=Zinz II. S. 190) heiratete Dr. Gabriel Eibenschütz in Köthen eine Frau aus der Familie "Alexis," eine Schwägerin des Dr. David Fränkel, des Herausgebers der hebräischen Zeitschrift *Sulamith*. Diese Angaben Beers sind irreführend. Es gelang mir aber bisher nicht, festzustellen, wieso Beer auch bei diesem Zweig der Nachkommen des REJ ihre Identität verschleiert hat. Es ist kaum anzunehmen, daß Beer dazu durch die Tatsache veranlaßt wurde, daß die Angehörigen der Familie "Alexis" oder vielmehr "Mortier" in Dessau Pferdehändler waren. — Der wirkliche Familienname der Frau des Dr. Gabriel Eibenschütz war: "Mortier." Sie führte nie den Namen "Alexis." Beer wählte anscheinend diesen Tarnnamen, weil der Bruder der Frau "Alexis Mortier" hieß. Dieser lebte in Berlin und betrieb dort ein Droschkenunternehmen (s. Jacob Jacobson, *Die Judenbürgerbücher der Stadt Berlin*, Berlin 1962, S. 136, Nr. 563 nebst Anm.). Dr. Gabriel Eibenschütz war nicht der Schwager des Dr. David Fränkel. Sein Schwager, der Bruder seiner Frau, namens Abraham Albert Mortier in Dessau war verheiratet mit Fanny (Vogel), der Tochter des Rabbiners Moses Fränkel, und war also der Schwager des Dr. David Fränkel (diese Angaben ergeben sich aus den Registern der jüdischen Gemeinde Dessau).

[6] Nach den mir von Dr. Jacobson mitgeteilten Angaben aus den Sterberegistern der Berliner jüdischen Gemeinde war sie eine geborene Mortier und bei ihrem Tode 75 Jahre alt. Nach einem Auszug aus den Akten des Dresdner Staatsarchivs heiratete Dr. G. Eibenschütz 1793 in Breslau die Tochter des Beer Markus; aber in den Breslauer jüd. Heiratsregistern war diese Heirat nicht verzeichnet. Nach dem

Kinder:

a. Gnendel (Anna Nanette), geb. 5. Jan. 1800 in Dresden, gest. . . . . in Prag (?); verh. als zweite Frau mit dem Arzt Dr. med. Hermann (ben Jonas) Wehle in Prag.[7] Aus dieser Ehe hatte er nach dem gedruckten Stammbaum der Prager Familie Wehle drei Kinder:

aa. Paula (Pauline), geb. ca. 1836 (Prag ?), verheiratet am 8. Feb. 1855 in Prag mit dem Buchhändler und Buchdruckereibesitzer Moritz Katz[8] in Dessau, geb. ca. 1825 in Teplitz (?) als Sohn des Naphtali Katz aus Teplitz und der Lea, geb. Zunz.[9]

Kinder:

1. Gabriel[10] Alfred, geb. 5. Jan. 1856 zu Dessau, gest. 25. Feb. 1857 zu Dessau
2. Oskar, geb. 10. Aug. 1858 zu Dessau
3. Robert, geb. 3. Juni 1860 zu Dessau
4. Elise, geb. 29. Okt. 1863 zu Dessau

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hebräischen Familienregister der Dresdner jüd. Gemeinde (Nr. 295 6) heißt die Frau des Dr. Gabriel Eibenschütz Rechel, Tochter des R. Beer aus Berlin. Aber auch in den Berliner Registern war sie nicht zu finden. Es scheint, daß der Ortsname Breslau bzw. Berlin in beiden Fällen verschrieben ist und er richtig: Dessau lauten muß. Die Familie Mortier stammt aus Dessau, und Beer Markus, der Vater der Frau, ist mit Behrend Mortgen (= Beer ben Mordechai = Beer Markus) aus Dessau identisch, der am 14. Jan. 1801 in Dessau gestorben ist. Sein Sohn Alexis (geb. 1761) nahm in Berlin den Familiennamen Mortier an, den dann auch die anderen Geschwister trugen (s. Jacobson a. a. O.).

[7] Über die Einstellung der Angehörigen der Prager jüdischen Familie Wehle zum Sabbathianismus s. G. Scholem, "A Sabbathaian Will of New York" in: *Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Part V, London 1948, S. 193 ff.

Der Schreiber des letzten Willens, Gottlieb b. Aron Wehle (Prag 1802 New York 1881) war nach dem gedruckten Stammbaum der Familie Wehle ein Cousin des hier erwähnten Dr. Hermann (ben Jonas) Wehle, der eine Nachkommin des RJE heiratete.

[8] Nach dem gedruckten Stammbaum der Familie Wehle hieß der Mann der Tochter Paula: Adolf Katz. In den Registern der Dessauer jüdischen Gemeinde, die man wohl als zuverlässiger bezeichnen kann, lautet sein Vorname: Moritz.

[9] Lea (Charlotte) Katz ist in Dessau am 19. Sept. 1857 gestorben. Sie war die Tochter des Elias Zunz, Kaufmanns zu Teplitz, und der Odel, geb. Kroh. Bei ihrem Tode war sie 57jährig (nach den Registern der Dessauer jüdischen Gemeinde).

[10] Er hieß (als einziger Sohn mit hebräischem Namen) nach seinem 1847 verstorbenen Großvater Gabriel

Die radikal-liberale Haltung des Moritz Katz und seiner Frau wird dadurch bestätigt, daß er seine Söhne nicht beschneiden ließ. Bei allen drei Söhnen ist im Geburtsregister der Jüdischen Gemeinde Dessau eingetragen: "Ist nicht beschnitten worden."

bb. Emilie, verh. mit Dr. Robitschek

cc. Erwine (?), verh. mit Siegismund Beer

5. b. Riwka (Friederike), geb. in Dresden,[11]
verh. im August 1825 mit dem Arzt Dr. Joseph Julius (Jecheskel) Gaspary, der 1822 von Meseritz nach Berlin gezogen war.[12]

6. Schöndel,[13] geb. ca. 1759 in Dresden, gest. 17. Mai 1829 in Mannheim, verh. im August 1781 in Mannheim mit: David ben Meier Ullmann,[14] Judenschaftsvorsteher in Mannheim; geb. ca. 1753 in Mannheim, gest. 31. Dez. 1811 in Mannheim.

[11] Nach Zinz II, S. 119; in den Geburtsregistern der Dresdner Jüdischen Gemeinde, die mit dem Jahre 1786 beginnen, konnte ich sie nicht finden.

[12] Nach der Zuzugsliste der Berliner Juden.

[13] Diese Tochter Schöndel wird bei L. Löwenstein, *Geschichte der Juden in der Kurpfalz* (Frankfurt am Main 1895), S. 195, Anm. erwähnt.

Aufmerksam gemacht auf ihre Familie wurde ich durch eine hebräische Gebetbuchhandschrift, die sich im Besitz des Prof. Dr. K. H. Rengstorf, Münster Westf. befindet, der mir freundlicherweise diese Handschrift für meine Forschungen zur Verfügung stellte, über die ich an anderer Stelle berichten werde. Auf dem Vorsatzblatt dieser Handschrift heißt es: "Dieses Buch gehört Meyer David Ullmann Mannheim den 19ten May 1800 / geschönket von seiner Mutter Schöngen Ullmann geborne Eybeschütz." Durch die Angaben des Stadtarchivs Mannheim, dessen Direktor Dr. Jacob ich für seine Auskünfte bestens danke, konnten die Nachkommen dieser Tochter festgestellt werden. Im Stadtarchiv Mannheim liegt eine Übersetzung der am 21. August 1781 in Mannheim geschlossenen Ehepakten zwischen dem "dahiesigen Judenschaftsvorsteher Mayer Ullmann und dessen Sohn David Ullmann als Hochzeiter eines =, und dem Rabiner Israel Eibeschütz, bevollmächtiget von seinem Vatter Nathan, wohnhaft zu Dresden, nomine seiner Tochter, des gedachten Israels Jungfer (?) Schwester Schöndel qua Hochzeiterin und dann diese Hochzeiterin selbst anderntheils." Nach diesem Ehevertrag hat Meyer Ullmann seinem Sohn die Hälfte seines Wohnhauses und Hofes nebst 2.200 Gulden in bar mitgegeben, während die Tochter des Nathan Eibenschütz als Mitgift 3.300 Gulden in bar nebst Kleidung und Geschenken mitbrachte.

[14] David Meyer Ullmann war seit 1784 großherzoglich-badischer Landjudenschaftsschreiber und "Beglaubter" (d. h. Sekretär und Notar) der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Mannheim; s. L. Löwenstein a. a. O. S. 252 und S. 195 Anm.

Kinder:

a. Maier Ullmann (Rechtspraktikant), geb. ca. 1786 in Mannheim, gest. 21. März 1817 in Mannheim.
Verh. in Heidelberg am 28. Juni 1815 mit: Zerle (Tochter des Baruch Hochstädter), geb. 1787 in Heidelberg; sie ist am 20.9.1847 von Mannheim nach Heidelberg verzogen, wo sie 1849 einen Paß nach England erhielt.

Kinder:

aa. David Ullmann, geb. 4. Aug. 1815 in Heidelberg, ausgewandert 21. Aug. 1847 nach England

b. Elisabeth (Schewa), geb. Mannheim ca. 1787, gest. Mannheim am 10. Aug. 1819.
Verh. in Mannheim am 28. Aug. 1816 mit: August Senger (Sänger), geb. ca. 1769 in Bingen (erhielt am 16. Aug. 1816 Stadtbürgerrechte in Mannheim), gest. 7. Jan. 1820 in Mannheim

Kinder:

aa. Joseph Senger, geb. 25. Juni 1817 in Mannheim, gest. 8. Mai 1818 in Mannheim.

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 187–191.

III. *Mordechai = Marcus Jonas Eibenschütz*

geb. ca. 1730/35 in Prag.
verheiratet (vor 1765) mit Machle, der Tochter des Pressburger Vorstehers Abraham Theben.
gest. 9. Dez. 1798 in Dresden.[1]

[1] Nach den Judenlisten des Dresdner Staatsarchivs erhielt Marcus Jonas Eibenschütz am 6. März 1779 die Erlaubnis, sich in "hiesigen Landen" (mit Ausschluß der Bergstadte) aufzuhalten; er erlegte für sich, sein Eheweib, ein Kind, einen Informator, einen Bedienten und eine Magd jährlich 20 Rtlr. Personensteuer.

Kinder:

1. Jonathan, geb. 3. Feb. 1767 in Stampfen (Ungarn); gest. 23. Juli 1818 in Dresden; unverheiratet.

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 191–194.

IV. *Jechiel Michel = Michel Eibenschütz*

ca. 1725 in Prag, gest. in Groß-Wardein (?);
verheiratet in erster Ehe 1742 in Nikolsburg mit: Reisel, der Tochter des Vorstehers Jacob Moses Pulitz, gest. 10. Okt. 1751 in Nikolsburg;
verheiratet in zweiter Ehe mit: Esther, Tochter des Aron Michelstädter halewi aus Nikolsburg, gest. 20. März 1758 in Nikolsburg;
verheiratet in dritter Ehe in Groß-Wardein mit: ?
Über die Kinder bzw. Nachkommen ist bisher nichts bekannt.

Vielleicht ist folgende eine Tochter dieses Michel Eibenschütz:

(?) 1. Deborah, Tochter des Michel Eibenschütz, verh. mit Josef Fränkel in Dambrowa bei Krakau (Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts.)
s. *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Familienforschung* (Berlin) Heft 12 (1927) S. 294, Nr. 77.

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II S. 194/5.

V. *Benjamin Seew Wolf = Wolf Jonas Eibenschütz,*

genannt: Baron von Adlersthal;[1]
geb. ca. 1740 in Prag, gest. 19. Nov. 1806 in Dresden.

[1] Wolf Jonas Eibenschütz wird in den Dresdner Behördenakten als Hoffaktor unter der Bezeichnung "genannt Adlersthal" stets als Jude aufgeführt; in den Judenverzeichnissen erscheint er gleichfalls. In dem Familienregister der Dresdner Jüdischen Gemeinde wird Wolf Eibenschütz unter Nr. 301 2 gebracht. Dort heißt es von ihm "der genannt wird mit dem geehrten Namen: Baron." (הנקרא בשם הנכבד בארון) Und

Heiratete in Breslau am 9. Mai 1800 Machle (Michal), Tochter des Moses Jechiel, gen. Fischel (Moses Fischel) Bloch,[2] geb. ca. 1784 in Breslau (?), gest. 5. Juli 1853 in Breslau.[3]

so hieß er auch im jüdischen Volksmund: "Baron Eibenschütz." Er hat seinen Glauben nie gewechselt, wie M. Balaban irrtümlicherweise in seinem Werke, *letoldoth ha-tenuah ha-frankith* I (Tel Aviv, 1934), S. 80 behauptet. Balaban dürfte zu diesem Irrtum durch eine Mitteilung von Beer in dessen *toldoth b'ne Jonathan* gekommen sein. Beer berichtet dort nämlich (S. 79), daß Wolf die Taufe versprochen hatte, um den Titel eines "Baron von Adlersthal" zu erhalten. Tatsache aber ist, wie bereits Beer selbst berichtet, und wie auch durch die Akten des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs bestatigt wird, daß Wolf dieses Adelsdiplom, das bereits ausgefertigt worden war, nicht ausgehändigt erhielt, weil er Jude geblieben war.

Nach den Akten des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs wurde am 16. April 1777 dem Wolf Eibenschütz mitgeteilt, daß "ihm das Diplom nicht früher ausgefolget werde, als bis sein Übertritt vom Judentum zur christlichen Kirche publiziert sein würde und er deshalb vorher von dem ihm verliehenen Reichs-Freiherrenstande keinen Gebrauch machen dürfe; s. *Der Deutsche Herold*, (Berlin) XXI 1890, Nr. 10, S. 124, sowie Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau, *Die geadelten Judenfamilien im vormärzlichen Wien* (Wien, 1950), S. 35/36. Ich danke dem Verfasser dafür, daß er mir sein Manuskript zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

[2] Heirats-register der Breslauer Jüdischen Gemeinde Nr. 268; über die Familie Bloch s. M. Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, S. 349.

[3] Die Witwe des Wolf Eibenschütz, die sich verwitwete von Adlersthal nannte, heiratete nach dem Tode ihres Mannes am 23. Juli 1816 in 2. Ehe in Breslau den gleichfalls verwitweten 43-jahrigen Simon Löbel Kremser aus Zülz O. S., der nach Berlin verzog und durch die nach ihm benannten "Kremser", eine Art Ausflugswagen, bekannt wurde. Bei der Heiratseintragung seiner Tochter Klara, die den Breslauer Kaufmann Jacob Rosenhain am 17.8.1850 in Berlin heiratete, wird der Vater bezeichnet als "gewesener Hofagent, jetziger polnischer Beamter Ferdinand (Simon) Kremser"; s. J. Jacobson, *Die Judenburgerbücher der Stadt Berlin* (Berlin, 1962), S. 199, Nr. 940. In der Breslauer Heiratseintragung seiner Tochter Karoline (verheiratet am 14.3.1841 mit Jakob Schneider) heißt der Vater: Hofagent Simon Kremser in Lublin. Im Sterberegister der evang. Pfarrkirche St. Elisabeth in Breslau ist eingetragen, daß der kaiserlich-russische Titular-Rath Friedrich Kremser im Alter von 76 Jahren und 6 Monaten am 1. Marz 1851 gestorben ist. Nach dieser Angabe ware Simon Kremser zum Christentum übergetreten, da die Nachkommen des Simon Kremser behaupten, daß dieser Friedrich Kremser mit dem Simon Kremser identisch sei. Ob dies zutrifft, d. h. ob der bei Jacobson erwahnte Ferdinand Kremser mit Friedrich Kremser personengleich sei, müßte noch untersucht werden.

Aus der ersten Ehe des Simon Kremser mit Friederike geb. Sachs (aus Leschnitz O. S.) brachte Simon Kremser folgende drei Kinder mit in die Ehe.

1. Ezechiel (spater getauft auf den Namen Karl), geb. 3. August 1805 in Zülz O. S.; Dr. phil. und Lehrer an der preußischen Kadettenanstalt in Wahlstatt bei Liegnitz; er starb unverheiratet in Obernigk bei Breslau.
2. Caroline, geb. 15. 4. 1810 in Zulz O. S.; verheiratet 1841 in Breslau mit Jakob Schneider aus Neustadt O. S.; gest. 28. April 1876 in Breslau.
3. Babette (spater Bertha), geb. 30. August 1813 in Breslau; verheiratet mit Louis Schäfer in Breslau; gest. am 19. April 1899 in Breslau.

Nachdem der Hofagent Simon Kremser das Gut Lossen (Kreis Brieg) erworben

Kinder:

1. Elkele, geb. 27. März 1801 in Dresden;
2. Scheindel (später: Nanette), geb. 21. März 1802 in Dresden; sie heiratete am 16. Oktober 1836 in Berlin den Dr. med. Marcus Moritz Bruck (Mori ben Jacob), geb. 25. Dez. 1799 in Ratibor O. S. (?),[4] gest. 25. Oktober 1863 in Berlin. Die Ehe scheint kinderlos gewesen zu sein.
3. Matel, geb. 15. Feb. 1803 in Dresden, gest. 24. Mai 1803 in Dresden.
4. Totgeborener Zwilling von Nr. 3.
5. Schewa (später: Charlotte), geb. 19. Dez. 1804 in Dresden.[5] Sie

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hatte, zog er mit seiner 2. Frau, der Amalie geb. Bloch, verwitwete von Adlersthal dorthin. Nach dem Judenregister des Kreises Brieg wurden diesem Ehepaar dort drei Töchter geboren:

4. Julie Henriette (Jochebed bath Simon), geb. 25. März 1818 zu Lossen, verheiratet am 17. Nov. 1846 in Berlin mit dem Lithographen Julius (Joel ben Meir) Lesser aus Dresden, dem 26-jährigen Sohn des Dresdner Kommissionärs Meyer Lesser; s. Jacobson a. a. O., S. 199, Nr. 940.
5. Johanna Luise, geb. 17. April 1819 in Lossen, gest. 27. März 1855 in Schweidnitz als Frau des Arztes Dr. Moritz Neisser, und zwar an den Folgen der Entbindung ihres Sohnes, des am 22. Jan. 1855 in Schweidnitz geborenen und am 30. Juli 1916 in Breslau verstorbenen berühmten Dermatologen Professor Dr. Albert Neisser. Dieser ließ sich später taufen und war mit einer getauften Jüdin (Toni geb. Julius Kauffmann aus Wüste-Giersdorf) verheiratet. Dr. Neisser besaß ein künstlerisch ausgestaltetes Haus, das von den kinderlosen Eheleuten der Stadt Breslau als eine Art Kunstmuseum vermacht wurde; s. [Führer durch] *Das Haus Toni und Albert Neisser*, 3. A., Breslau, 1923. In der NS-Zeit wurde dieses Haus zugunsten eines Nazifunktionärs konfisziert, da man den "jüdischen Einfluß" auch auf diesem Gebiete beseitigen wollte.
6. Klara geb. 13. Jan. 1821 in Lossen, verheiratet 17. Mai 1850 in Berlin mit dem Breslauer Kaufmann Jacob Rosenhain. (s. Jacobson a. a. O.)

Aus dieser Ehe stammten 2 Kinder:

a. Louise, Sprach- und Musiklehrerin, geb. 5. Juli 1855 in Breslau, gest. 5. Nov. 1934 in Breslau.
b. Sophie, geb. ?, verh. mit Bradt, gest. 11. Aug. 1932 in Breslau.

Einen Teil der Angaben über die Nachkommen des Simon Kremser verdanke ich Herrn Oberregierungsrat a. D. Dr. R. Schneider (früher Breslau, jetzt Altena Westf.), der selbst zu der Familie des Simon Kremser gehört.

[4] Dr. Bruck scheint aus Ratibor zu stammen, da in den Berliner Zuzugsregistern angegeben ist, daß er vorher in Ratibor und Dresden gelebt hat. Er dürfte der Sohn des in Ratibor 1821 ff. nachweisbaren Jakob Nathan Bruck gewesen sein, während der in Berlin gleichfalls wohnhafte Bernhard Bruck wohl ein Sohn des in Brieg nachweisbaren Jakob Hirschel Bruck war, der ebenso wie Jakob Nathan Bruck aus Zülz O. S. stammte; vgl. Jacobson, a. a. O., S. 542, Nr. 3053, der Bernhard und Dr. Moritz Bruck für Brüder hält.

[5] Während die Angaben über das Schicksal der ersten 4 Kinder des Wolf Eiben-

heiratete am 1. Juli 1832 in Berlin den Kaufmann Jacob Behrend Gottschalk, geb. 1801 in Rügenwalde (als Sohn des Kaufmanns Behrend Jacob), gest. 5. Jan. 1845 in Berlin.

Kinder:

a. Cäcilie (Zerel), geb. 28. April 1833 in Berlin.[6]
Sie heiratete am . . . den Kaufmann Ferdinand Schlesinger anscheinend in Berlin. Eine Tochter dieses Ehepaares ist bekannt:

aa. Bertha, geb. am 8. Juli 1859 in Berlin, gest. am 31. August 1942 in Berlin. Sie hat am 15. August 1884 in Berlin den Schriftsteller und Journalisten Alexander Moszkowski geheiratet (geb. 15. Juni 1851 zu Pilica in Polen, gest. 26. Sept. 1934 in Berlin). Aus dieser Ehe stammt der ehemalige Chefsyndikus der Rechtsabteilung der Reichskreditgesellschaft in Berlin Dr. Richard Moszkowski, geb. 1886 in Berlin, 1940 ausgewandert nach USA, gest. 6. Jan. 1959 in Chicago. Der aus seiner Ehe mit Ruth geb. Bamberger stammende Sohn Stephen, associate Prof. of theoretical physics an der UCLA von Los Angeles (Cal.), wäre also der einzige heute lebende bekannte jüdische Nachkomme des Rabbiners Jonathan Eibenschütz, der bisher festgestellt werden konnte.

b. Waldemar (Seeb Wolf) geb. 3. Juni 1836 in Berlin.[7]
c. Emma Hedwig, geb. 11. Juni 1839 in Berlin.[8]

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 195–204.

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schütz bzw. von Adlersthal aus Registern der jüdischen Gemeinde und des Staates in Dresden stammen und durch Mitteilungen von Dr. Jacobson ergänzt wurden, ließen sich die Nachkommen der fünften Tochter Schewa Charlotte nur nach mühseligen Nachforschungen feststellen. Von Dr. Jacobson erhielt ich die Angabe über ihre Ehe mit Jacob Gottschalk in Berlin. Auf die Nachkommen des Namens Moszkowski bin ich durch einen Nachruf im New Yorker *Aufbau* vom 30. Januar 1959 aufmerksam gemacht worden, in welchem auf die Abstammung des Richard Moszkowski vom Baron von Adlersthal hingewiesen worden war.

[6] In den Berliner jüdischen Geburtsregistern für 1823 bis 1837 ist auf S. 114/15 die Geburt der Cäcilie (Zerel) als Tochter des Jacob Behrend Gottschalk und der Charlotte von Adlersthal, wohnhaft Königsstraße 14, eingetragen. Trotz der bisher noch nicht beigebrachten Heiratsurkunde dieser Tochter Cäcilie durfte die Abstammung des R. Moszkowski von Baron Eibenschütz dadurch als erwiesen gelten.

[7] Berliner jüdisches Geburtsregister a. a. O., S. 144/45.

[8] Berliner jüdisches Geburtsregister für 1837 bis 1846, S. 36.

VI. *Schewa Eibenschütz, verheiratete Bondi*

geb. ca. 1719 in Prag, gest. (?)
heiratete am 23. Dezember 1734 in Prag[1] den Prager Juden[2] Mordechai ben Isaak Salomon Bondi (=Marcus Bondi)[3] geb. 1716 in Prag, gest. 11. 5. 1777 in Prag.[4]

Kinder:

1. Hertz, 2. Jonteff, 3. Seelig, 4. Benjamin, 5. Matel, 6. Isaak, gest. 12. 8. 1772 in Prag.[4]

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 204/5.

[1] Betreffs des Ehedatums s. J. Jacobovits in *MGWJ* 76 (1932) S. 513.

[2] Im Jahre 1754 wird Modche Isaac Bondi unter den beim Brand des Prager Ghettos Beschädigten aufgeführt; s. *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der CSR*, Prag VI (1934), S. 189, Nr. 674.

[3] Über Bondi=Kasab s. in der vorliegenden Arbeit, 1. Tl.

[4] Auskunft des Prager Staatl. Jüd. Museums.

VII. *Hitzel Eibenschütz verehelichte Fränkel*

Geb. ca. 1717 in Prag, gest. 24. April 1807 in Dresden;[1]
Verh. in Prag vor 1737 mit Benjamin Wolf, Sohn des Moses Fränkel (aus Breslau ?),[2] geb. ?, gest. 21. Juni 1758 in Hamburg.

Kinder:

1. Selig, geb. vor 1737 in Hamburg (?).[3]
2. Moses, geb. nach 1741 in Hamburg (?), gest. 7. Okt. 1798 in Dresden.[4]

[1] Mitteilungen von Dr. Jacobson aus den Registern der jüdischen Gemeinde Dresden; Dresdner Jüdisches Familienregister Nr. 271.

[2] Ob Wolf Fränkel aus Breslau stammt, konnte aus den Breslauer Akten nicht festgestellt werden; s. seine Vorfahrenlinie bei Zinz a. a. O. Vielleicht geht die Herkunftsbezeichnung "aus Breslau" auf eine Verwechslung mit seinem Schwager Raphael Gad zurück.

[3] Selig wird erwähnt in dem Werke *Krethi u-Plethi* seines Großvaters Jonathan Eibenschütz; s. Zinz a. a. O.

[4] In seiner Arbeit über den großherzoglich-mecklenburgischen Hofagenten "Daniel Jechiel Wallich, gest. 1789," die in dem *Jahrbuch für die Jüdischen Gemeinden Schleswig-Holsteins und der Hansestädte*, Nr. 4, 1932 33 erschienen ist, berichtet E. Dukesz S. 56 über die Kinder, die in den Jahren 1741–1786 von D. J. Wallich beschnitten worden sind. "Wir lernen dort Nr. 25, 51, 69, 130 drei Schwiegersöhne des Oberrabb. J. Eibenschütz kennen, und zwar Isaak Falzberg, Benjamin Wolf Fränkel und Raphael Gad aus Glogau, deren Kinder er auf den Knien des Jonathan Eibenschütz beschnitten hat." Es muß sich hier also um den Sohn Moses handeln, der in den Dresdner Verzeichnissen erwähnt wird; denn Selig ist nach den Untersuchungen von Zinz a. a. O. vor 1737 geboren.

3. Matel, geb. ?, gest. 12. Juli 1813 in Dresden,[5]
verh. mit dem Dresdner jüdischen Gemeindevorsteher Seligmann Meyer, der am 1. März 1813 in Dresden verstarb.

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 205–206.

[5] Nach den Angaben des Dresdner Familienregisters Familie Nr. 271.

VIII. *Nissel Eibenschütz, verehelichte Gad.*

geb. ca. 1741 in Prag, gest. 12. Juni 1793 in Breslau.[1]
verheiratet 1759 in Breslau mit dem Breslauer Juden Raphael Gad (Raphael ben Gad),[2] geb. ca. 1745 in Glogau, gest. am 15. Okt. 1808 in Breslau.[3]

[1] Nach dem Sterberegister der Breslauer Jüdischen Gemeinde.

[2] Im Register der Breslauer Judengemeinde vom Jahre 1776 ist auf Seite 210 als Fix-Entrist Nr. 12: Raphael Gad aus Glogau eingetragen. Er gehörte also zur Klasse der Fix-entristen, die gegen eine bestimmte jährliche Abgabe, "Fix-Entrée" genannt, die Erlaubnis hatten, sich in Breslau eine gewisse Zeit aufzuhalten, bzw. ohne jedesmal den Betrag für den Einlaß in Breslau zahlen zu müssen, ein- und ausreisen zu dürfen. Ich habe s. Zt. in Breslau aus diesem Verzeichnis einen Auszug hergestellt, in dem ich leider nur das Alter und die Geburtsorte, aber nicht die Namen der Frauen und Kinder eingetragen habe. In meinem Auszug ist folgendes notiert: Raphael Gad, 35-jährig, geb. zu Glogau; seine Frau 35-jährig, geb. zu Hamburg (dies ist natürlich ein Irrtum der Liste); an Kindern sind verzeichnet: zwei Söhne im Alter von 14 und 13 Jahren, sowie vier Töchter im Alter von 15, 9, 4 und ¼ Jahr. Als Beruf ist angegeben: "Die Frau geht hausieren mit allen möglichen Waren bei Herrschaften." Im Hause hielt sich damals eine Famulizperson, die 18-jährige aus Glogau geburtige Köchin Schöndel Isakin, auf.

Raphael Gad wurde später Generalprivilegierter in Breslau. Im Stammbuch der Breslauer Judengemeinde vom Jahre 1791 ist der Generalprivilegierte Nr. 6, Raphael Gad, in Band I, (Blatt 20–21) eingetragen. Es heißt dort: "Raphael Gad, alt 56 Jahre, hat die nachgelassene Witwe Fürst geheiratet; Ehegattin: Nissel Eibeschütz, alt 50 Jahre, ist im Mai 1793 gestorben." (Nach dem Sterberegister ist sie am 12. Juni 1793 gestorben.) Als Kinder sind dort auf Seite 21 verzeichnet: Sohn: Itzig Gad, verheuratet allhier mit der Tochter des Löbel Asch, vide fol. 24; Töchter: Esther Gad in Frankfurt verheuratet, vid. f. 22; Lina (Sina?), 15 Jahre alt.

[3] Am 15. Oktober 1793 heiratete der Witwer Raphael ben Gad die Witwe Jittel Fürst (Heiratsregister der Breslauer Judengemeinde Nr. 107: 9. Cheschwan 5554). Sie war im Jahre 1812 die einzige, die damals als: Henriette Gad den Familiennamen Gad in Breslau annahm. (Staatsburger-register 1812 des Breslauer Regierungsdepartements Nr. 1076.) Sie war damals Witwe, da ihr Mann am 15. Oktober 1808 verstorben war. Sein behandelnder Arzt war Dr. Fischer gewesen, ein Schwager des Löbel Eibenschütz; s. unter Löbel Eibenschütz, Anm. 3.

Kinder:[4]

1. Tochter, geb. 1760;
2. Sohn, geb. 1762;
3. Isaak (Itzig) Gad,[5] geb. ca. 1763 in Breslau,
   verheiratet 1791 in Breslau mit: Golde/Goldine (Tochter des Löbel Asch),[6] geb. ca. 1775 in Breslau.

Kinder:

a. Ulrike/Rikel, geb. 1. Nov. 1791 in Breslau,
   gest. 1. Feb. 1795 in Breslau.
b. Elke (Nelke), geb. 26. Okt. 1792 in Breslau.
c. Jonathan (Jonas), geb. 1. Jan. 1794.

[4] Sechs Kinder nach der oben erwähnten Judenliste vom Jahre 1776. Von diesen sind nur die Namen der drei bekannt, die im Register von 1791 aufgeführt wurden. Die anderen Kinder dürften vorher aus Breslau ausgewandert, bzw. verstorben sein.

[5] Die Heirat ist im Heiratsregister der Breslauer Judengemeinde unter Nr. 40 (18. Schwat 5551) eingetragen. Im Stammbuch der Breslauer Judengemeinde vom Jahre 1791 ist Isaak Gad als Generalprivilegierter Nr. 7 (Bd. I, S. 24–25) eingetragen. Er wird dort als 28-jährig aufgeführt, und seine Frau Golde Löbel Asch als 16-jährige. Da die Familie des Isaak nach 1801 zum Christentum übertrat, dürfen sicherlich die Vornamen der Familienangehörigen (möglicherweise auch der Familienname selbst) bei der Taufe geändert worden sein. Über diese christlichen Nachkommen des RJE ließ sich bisher nichts ermitteln, ebensowenig wie über die getauften Nachkommen der Esther Gad, verehelichte Bernard. Vielleicht gehört der Geh. Oberappellationsrat Gad in Posen zu dieser Familie; s. de le Roi, *Geschichte der evangelischen Judenmission*, Teil I, 1 (2. A., Leipzig, 1899), S. 235.

[6] Die Familie Asch (der Name ist ein Herkunftsname, Abkürzung für den Ortsnamen: Eisenstadt) gehörte zu den Breslauer Familien, die von der Taufepidemie befallen waren. Der Vater der Golde, verehelichte Gad, war der Gemeindeälteste Löbel Joseph Asch. Von seinen Kindern ließen sich taufen: seine Tochter Golde nebst Mann Isaak Gad und Kindern, sowie sein Sohn Aron, der 1808 mit dessen Sohn Hermann getauft wurde. Von den Kindern seines Sohnes Isaak Asch ließen sich drei Söhne taufen: Lippmann 1804, Selig 1809 und Moritz 1810. Isaak Asch, der Bruder der Golde Asch, legte bei der Taufe seines Sohnes Lippmann eine ungewöhnliche Gleichgültigkeit an den Tag. Zur Taufe seines Sohnes gab er die Erklärung ab, daß er zwar bisher von dem Vorhaben seines Sohnes, das Judentum zu verlassen, nicht unterrichtet gewesen sei; "inzwischen habe er als Vater nichts dagegen und wünsche seinem Sohn auf der zu betretenden Bahn nur das Glück, welches er wegen seines guten Herzens verdiene." Diese Angaben entstammen den Akten des Stadtarchivs Breslau, Repon. Registratur Nr. 40, 2, Blatt 11, 36 ff., 72 ff., 74 ff., 177 ff.; vgl. B. Brilling, "Breslauer Judentaufen im 19. Jahrhundert" in: *Jüdische Zeitung für Ostdeutschland* (Breslau), 1929, Nr. 17, sowie J. Landsberger, "Judentaufen in Breslau" in: *Jahrbuch zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung*, ed. M. Brann, Jahrgg. 46 (Breslau, 1898), S. 59/60.

d. Joseph, geb. 7. Juli 1796

e. Mathilde, geb. 8. Dez. 1801.[7]

4. Tochter, geb. 1767.

5. Esther,[8] (nach Taufe: Sophie, bzw. Lucy);[9]
geb. ca. 1770 in Breslau, gest. um 1820 in ?,
verheiratet in 1. Ehe: am 6. Feb. 1791 in Breslau mit Samuel Bernard (Samuel Sanwil ben Berachjahu gen. Baruch hakohen)[10] aus Frankfurt an der Oder;[11] geschieden 1796.[12] Aus dieser Ehe stammten folgende Kinder:[13]

[7] Die Angaben über die Geburten der Kinder sind den Registern des Breslauer Jüdischen Gemeindearchivs entnommen.

[8] Esther Gad, bzw. Esther Bernard war wohl die erste, als Jüdin geborene deutsche Schriftstellerin. Über sie wäre noch eine Biographie zu schreiben. Einige Angaben über sie findet man in der *Enc. Jud.* (Berlin), Bd. IV, Sp. 284–85 (unter: Bernard, Esther); s. auch den Artikel von A. Galliner im: *Israelitischen Familienblatt* (Hamburg) vom 19. Mai 1938, vgl. auch *ZGJD* IV (1890), S. 298, wo berichtet wird, daß Esther Gad 1799 eine Kritik über Schillers *Piccolomini* geschrieben hat. — Für Auskünfte über Esther Gad bin ich besonders Herrn Prof. Dr. E. Berend, Marbach, verbunden, der mich speziell über die Beziehungen von E. G. zu Jean Paul informiert hat.

[9] Nach der Taufe, die um 1800 stattgefunden haben dürfte, nannte sie sich Sophie, zuweilen auch Lucy. Wahrscheinlich waren dies die Namen, die ihr bei der Taufe gegeben wurden. In dem Buche von I. Fürst, *Henriette Herz, Ihr Leben und ihre Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1850), S. 168 heißt sie: Sophie Bernhard, geb. Gad, später Domeier. Nach einer Mitteilung von R. J. d'Arcy Hart (London vom 3. September 1952), wird die Witwe von Dr. Domeier: Lucy Domeier genannt. Nach einer Auskunft von Mr. Hyamson, London, die mir freundlicherweise von Dr. O. K. Rabinowicz, London übermittelt wurde, wurde Esther Gad "married as Lucy Bernard to Dr. Domeier, physician to the Duke of Kent at Lisbon on the 27th July 1802."

[10] Heiratsverzeichnis der Breslauer jüdischen Gemeinde Nr. 41 (2. Adar I. 5551).

[11] Im Stammbuch der Breslauer Judengemeinde vom Jahre 1791, Bd. I, S. 28 ist verzeichnet, daß Esther Gad in Frankfurt verheiratet war. Samuel Bernard wird unter den Juden aufgeführt, die im Jahre 1791 den Palästinasendboten Abraham Asulai und Ascher Aschkenasi aus Tiberias eine Spende gaben; s. B. Brilling in der Zeitschrift *Sinai* (Jerusalem), vol. 21, Nr. 1 (Okt. 1957), S. 35, Anm. 57.

[12] Im erwähnten Breslauer Judenregister vom Jahre 1791 ist auf S. 22 (Bd. I) eingetragen: "Esther Gad, an den Bernard Samuel verheiratet, von welchem sie in der Folge geschieden worden, alt 29 Jahre (1796)."

[13] In dem genannten Verzeichnis vom Jahre 1791 sind a. a. O. drei Kinder verzeichnet: Krosel, an den Blattern gestorben im Dez. 1794 (wahrscheinlich identisch mit Rebecka, die nach den Breslauer Jüdischen Geburtsregistern am 18. Dez. 1792 in Breslau geboren ist); Sohn Jonas, alt 4 Jahre (1796), Tochter Jeannette, alt ¾ Jahr, (1796). In den Breslauer jüdischen Geburtsregistern sind diese beiden letztgenannten Kinder nicht verzeichnet.

a. Jonas, geb. ca. 1791 in ?.

b. Rebecka, geb. 18. Dez. 1792 in Breslau, gest. Dez. 1794 in Breslau.

c. Jeannette (Nettchen), geb. ca. 1795 in ?.

Esther (nach Scheidung und Taufe: Sophie Lucy), heiratete in 2. Ehe in Lissabon am 27. Juli 1802 den Leibarzt des Herzogs von Sussex, Dr. Wilhelm Friedrich Domeier, geb. 1763 in Hannover, gest. 20. April 1815 in London (Doverstreet, Piccadilly).[14]

Kinder aus der 2. Ehe:

d. Sohn, geb. in Gosport (bei Portsmouth/Hants.) am 20. Feb. 1804 (als Christ).[15]

6. Sina (Lina?), geb. ca. 1776 in Breslau.[16]

Anmerkungen:
Zinz II, S. 206

[14] Von Mrs. M. Mackenzie, der Archivarin der Royal Archives in Windsor Castle, der ich für ihre Angaben außerordentlich dankbar bin, erhielt ich am 11. Juli 1952 die Auskunft, daß Dr. Domeier am 20. April 1815 in London gestorben ist, und daß im *Gentleman's Magazin* eine Todesanzeige erschienen ist, in der als sein Geburtsland Schweden angegeben ist. Nach Auskunft von Herrn Hyamson bzw. Dr. O. K. Rabinowicz London, ist Dr. Domeier 1763 in Hannover geboren und hat am 17. Nov. 1784 in Göttingen als Dr. med. promoviert. Am 16. Juli 1803 wurde er zum physician of the Foreign Forces ernannt. Dann kam er nach Malta, wo er u. a. Superintendent of the Botanical Garden in LaValetta war. Am 27. Dez. 1809 wurde er Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. 1810 veröffentlichte er einen Oktavband *Bemerkungen über das Klima, die Sitten und die Zeitvertreibe in Malta.*

[15] Nach Mitteilung von Hyamson Rabinowicz vom 4. 10. 1953: "The wife of Dr. Domeier, physician to the Duke of Sussex, gave birth to a son at Gosport on February 20th 1804."

[16] Der Name dieser Tochter ist im Breslauer Judenregister vom Jahre 1791 Bd. I, S. 21 verzeichnet. Sie dürfte mit der Tochter identisch sein, die als 14-jährig im Breslauer Judenregister vom Jahre 1776 aufgeführt wird; s. o. Anm. 2.

IX. *Rebecka Eibeschütz*[1] *verehelichte Pfalzburg* (?)

geb. ?, gest. 13. Sept. 1792 in Karlsruhe,
verheiratet mit: Isaak Pfalzburg,[2] geb. ?, gest. in Hamburg nach 1759.

Kinder:

1. Sohn, geb. nach 1741.
2. Elke, geb. 4. Sept. 1759, gest. ?
   verheiratet mit: Nathan ben Tia Weil, geb. 2. Nov. 1756 in Prag, gest. 31. Oktober 1829 in Karlsruhe.

Kinder:[3]

a. Vögele, verheiratet vor 1809 mit ?
b. Marianne, geb. ?; 1809 unverheiratet.
c. Gütel, geb. ?; 1809 unverheiratet.
d. Rebecka, geb. nach 1792; 1809 unverheiratet.
e. Sara, geb. ?; 1809 unverheiratet
f. Tochter geb. ?

Anmerkungen:
Zinz, S. 206.

[1] Die Erwähnung dieser Tochter bei Zinz geht zurück auf das Buch von L. Löwenstein: *Nathanael Weil* (Frankfurt am Main, 1898), S. 35–36.

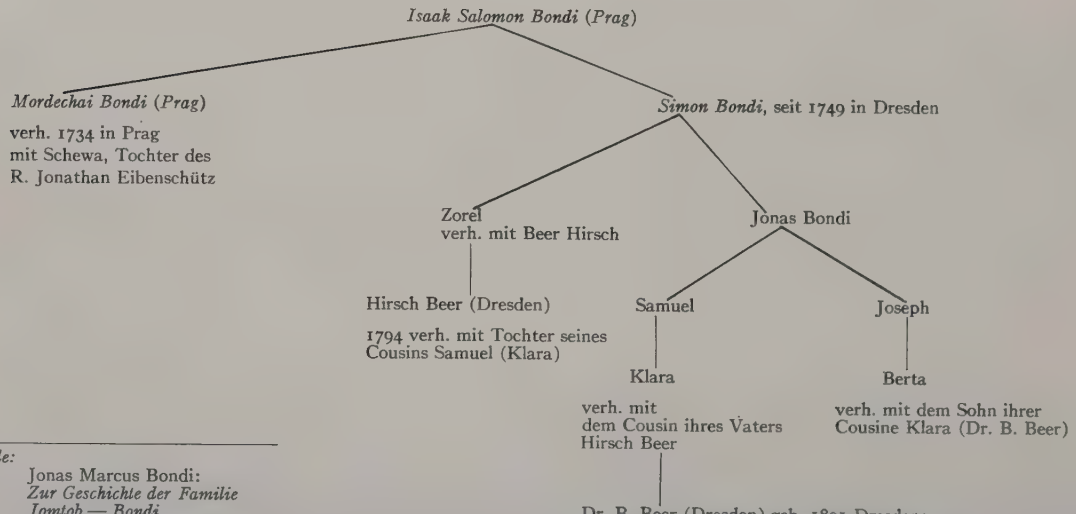
E. Duckesz verschweigt in seinem Werke *Iwah le-moschav* (Krakau, 1903), S. 52 den Namen des Schwiegersohns und erwähnt nur, daß er auf dem Friedhof in der Königsstraße beerdigt ist. Erst in seinem 1932 33 veröffentlichten und bereits (s. Hitzel Eibenschütz, verehelichte Frankel Anm. 4) zitierten Artikel erwähnt Duckesz den Namen: Isaak Falzberg (S. 56). Er transkribiert diesen Namen aus dem hebräischen Text eines Mohelbuches, das sich bisher nicht auffinden ließ. Dieser Ortsname könnte wohl auch Pfalzburg, Felsberg oder gar Postelberg gelesen werden. Löwenstein hat aus diesem Namen geschlossen, daß Rebecka in Pfalzburg lebte. M. Grunwald führt in seinem Buche *Hamburgs deutsche Juden* auf Seite 115 Rabbi Jonathans "Schwiegersohn R. Isaak" ohne jeden weiteren Zusatz zum Namen auf. Warum dieser Schwiegersohn von Duckesz und Grunwald so unbeachtet bleibt, ist nicht verständlich.

[2] Isaak Pfalzburg in Hamburg ist nicht zu verwechseln mit dem gleichnamigen Isaak ben Meir Pfalzburg, der 1755 eine Tochter des Fürther Rabbiners Joseph Steinhardt geheiratet hat und 1805 gestorben ist; s. L. Löwenstein im: *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main) VI, 5669 1908, S. 189 90, sowie Löwenstein, N. Weil, a. a. O. S. 69.

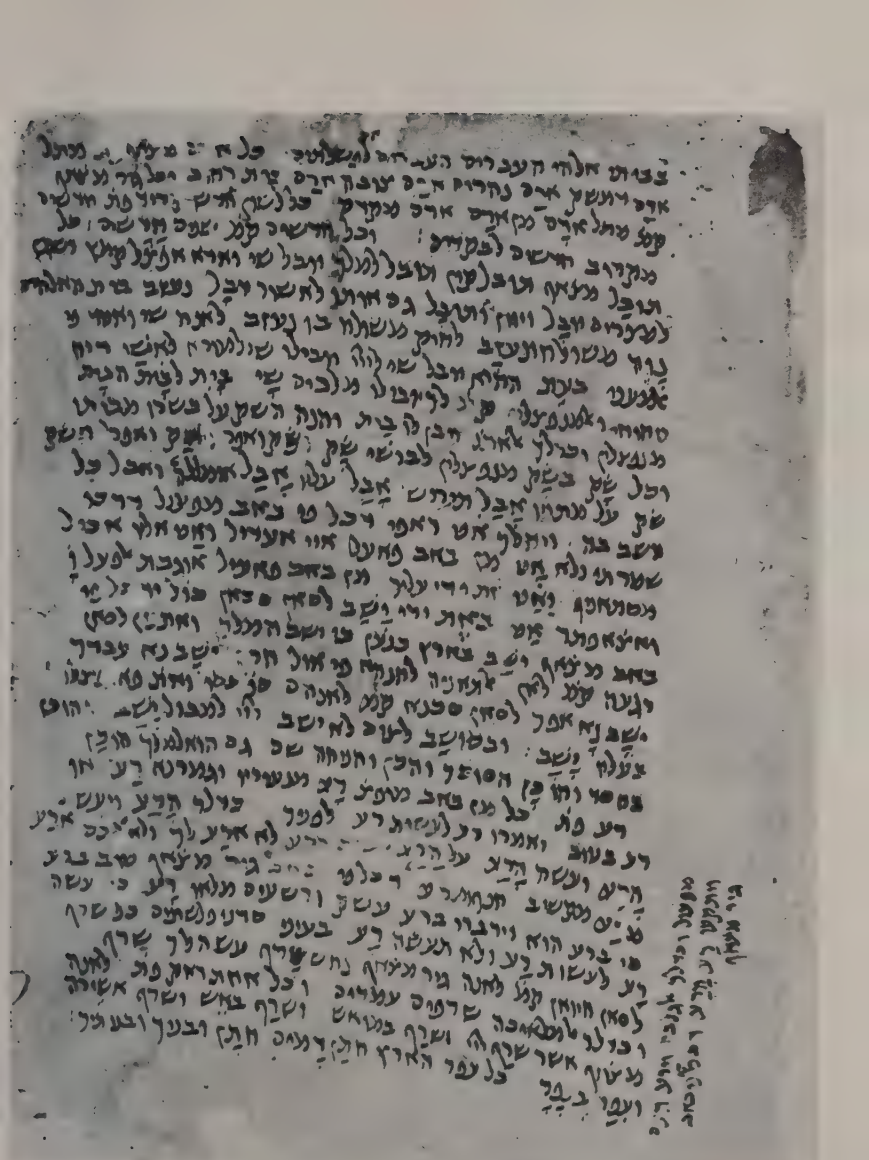
[3] Die Angaben über die Kinder stammen aus dem oben erwähnten Buch von Löwenstein N. Weil, S. 35 36; er erwähnt zwar sechs Töchter des Nathan Weil, zählt aber dort nur fünf namentlich auf.

Verwandtschaft des Dr. B. Beer mit R. Jonathan Eibenschütz

(bzw. mit der Familie Bondi)



Quelle:
Jonas Marcus Bondi:
Zur Geschichte der Familie Jomtob — Bondi
Frankfurt/Main 5681 (1921)
S. 29–31.



T-S. Ar. 9/5 fol. 3v. סדר הסימנים, דף ג' ע"ב (= ה)

T-S. Ar. 9/5 fol. 3r. סדר הסימנים, דף ג' ע"א (= ד)

T-S. Ar. 9/5 fol. 2v. סדר הסימנים, דף ב' ע"ב (=ג)

T-S. Ar. 9/5 fol. 2r. סדר הסימנים, דף ב' ע"א (= ב)

סדר הסימנים, דף א' ע"ב (=א)

T-S. Ar. 9/5 fol. 1v.

שקק (ישחק) ב17
שרח א13; ב3
שרט, שרוט א20, 22
שרך (משתרכה) א12
שבץ ב24 (פעמים), 25

תולדות א5
תיבות א5
תלפט, עי' לפט
תמאם א12, 20
תמוה א8 (שלוש פעמים)
תנתין (=צירי) ב14, 16, 18; ג5, 8, 10, 14, 17, 19, 21
תפסיר ב17; ג19, 20

ב. ענייני המסורה לפי אלפבית

(מספר העמוד הוא בלי עמוד ראשון של דף א)

אבל ה12–13
אט – אט ה13–16
ארם – ארם ה1–3
ארע – ירע ה24–25
ארץ – ארץ ד1
אש, עי' שי

בית – בית ה9–10
ברע, עי' רע

גד – גד ד18–21

דוכן ה20–21
דברים – העורים ד30–ה1
הן – הן ב2–9
הרע – הרע ה23–25

חדשים – חדשים ה3–4
חרבה – חרבה ד27–30
חרבות, חרבות – ד23–26
חתן – חתן ה32

טוב, טוב ד1–5

יובל – יובל ה5–6
יצחק, יצחק, יצחק ד21–22
ירע, עי' ארע
יש – יש ב2 (נוכר)
ישב – ישב, ישב, ישב (שוב) ה16–20
ישחק – ישחק ד22–23

כון, עי' הוכן
כן – כן ג8–12
לחמי ד11–12
לך – לך ב9–14

מים – מים ד15–18
מנערי – מנערי ד12
מרע – מרע ה26
מצחק ד21

נעזב – נעזב ה6–8
נערי, עי' מנערי
נשא, עי' שה

עברים – עורים ד30–ה1
עד – עד ג18–21
עדת – עדת ד12–15
עפר – עפר ה32
עת – עת ג3–8

רע – רע ה22–28
רעע, עי' רע, ארע, מרע

שא (נשא), עי' שה
שה – שה (שא) ב15–ג3
שוב, עי' ישב
שי – שי – אשי ה8–9
שמים – שמים ד5–7
שן – שן ב1
שק – שק ה10–12
שרף – שרף ה28–31
שש – שש ג21–22

תובל – תובל ה4–6
תן – תן ג12–18
תשמע – תשמע ד8–10

מים ד7
מכאפיף, עי' כפף
מוכרת א4, 5 (פעמים)
מנוכר (=מוכר) א7
מלונה, מלונת א6
מלך, מלוך א10, 23; ב12 (פעמים)
מנהג א9
מנהג עצמו א5
מנהג תיבות א5
מסתאניף, עי' אנף
מעמידו טעמו א9
מעני, מעאני א11, 19; ד7; ה8
מצאף ב22, 23 (פעמים); ג2; ה1, 5, 17, 31
גיר מצאף ב19; ד2–3; ה2, 25, 26, 29
מצאפה ב18, 21
מצותה, מצותאת א2; ג14
מקדמה א14, 27
מקף ב10; ג8, 17
מקרא ב10, 15; ג7
מרכב, מרכבה ג23, 26
משתרכה, עי' שרך
מתמים, מתמימים א7
מתשאבה, עי' שבה
מתאל ג4

נוע ב23–25
נטיר, נטאיר ב13
נקבה, עי' לשון
נקטה, ג נקט (=סנול) ב10, 12–13, 15, 19; ג16
נקט (=נקודות) ג5, 6, 10, 14, 15, 24
נקצאן א17

סוף דבר א7
סוף עניין א6
סוף פסוק א5; ד1, 7, 16, 17; ה19
סימן, סימנים א1
סמיכ' (=סמיכא) ב7

עבר א7
עבראני ב22
עבראניין ד31
ענייך, ענייניים א6, 7
עלה, עלל א3, 4, 27; ב11; ג14, 22, 24
עלם, תעלם א19–20, 26; ב11
עלם אללה א2–3
עניין, עי' ענייך
ערץ עארץ ג1, 2 (שניהם)
עתיד א7

פאעיל, עי' פעל
פן ד11
פסוק, עי' סוף פסוק
פסר א18; ג11
פעל ה15
פעל, מפעול ד19; ה13, 25
פעל, פאעל ה20; ה14, 15
פצל, א10; ד10; ה22 (?)
פצל, אנפצל ג8; ד1, 7, 9, 10, 16; ה5, 9–11, 19, 22
פצל, תפצל ד7, 16
פראד ד27, 29
פרק א12 (פועל); ג1 (שם)
פת-פתח ד5, 19, 25, 30; ה1, 3, 5, 13, 22, 30
פתח ב5, 8, 21

צאף, עי' אצאפה, מצאף
צות, עי' מצותה
צחיח ב26
צפה ב26; ג1

קאים בדאתה ד2
קדים, קדמא א4
קול א26; ב5 ועוד
קטע (מנקטע) ב14
קל א4
קמ-קמץ ד6, 20, 23, 29, 31; ה4, 9, 18, 19, 22, 29
קמץ ה5
קמץ צניר ד27
קמץ קטן ג7
קראן ג15

ראש דבר א7
ראש עניין א6
רפי א4

שבה, מתשאבה א11
שוא א21, 27

מפתחות

א. המונחים

(מספר העמודים הוא בלי עמוד ראשון דף א)

אחרף, עי' חרף
אכתלאף, עי' כלף
אלף ב16
אלפאט, עי' לפט
אמצע עניין א6
אמר ג27
אנף (מסתאנף) ה15
אסם ד20, 27
אפעל (צווי הפעיל) ג 27
אצאפה ב25; ה16
אצל א 21
ארמאני – ארמית ד13, 14
את – אתנחתא ד 17; ה 19
אתנ' – אתנחתא ד1, 7, 22; ה10

באב א2, 17, 26, 27; ג25, 27 (פעמים); ד19, 20; ה13, 15, 17, 22, 25, 26
בי (= בית) ה1 (עי' הערה 40)
ברור א9

גבור א8 (שלוש פעמים)
גו ג23
גנס ב24; ג17
געל (=נקד) ב17
גריעה, גריעות א6

דכל ה13, 16, 25, 26

הולך כמנהג א9

ואו ד31
וגב (אוגב) ה15
וצל, אתצל א10; ד2, 6, 12, 18
וצע, עי' מוצע

זכר, עי' לשון
זקף ד10, 16

חזק א4
חמור, חומר א4
חרף ג27; ה18
חרף, חרפין ב4 (פעמים); ג23–24
חרף – אחרף א22, 27; ג26

טלבה ד9
טעם, טעמים א6, 9; ב12
טפל א4
טריף = טרף ג6
טריק, טרק א2

כלאם א3, 11, 13, 15, 23; ג18, 23, 25
כלם, תכלם א11, 16, 23, 26
כלמה, כלם ב4
כלף, כאלף ג15; ד13, 17
כלף, אכתלאף א3
כלף, מכתלפה א11
כפף, מכאפף ד30
כצץ, כאץ א11
כרג ד5, 20, 25 (פעמים),
כתאב, כתב א12 (פעמים), 14, 16

לגה א3; ב22
לגה אלעבראני ב22
לחן, לחון ד11; ה18
לחק, מלחק ב14; ג17; ה7
לסאן ד30, 31; ה16, 17, 19, 29
לסאן עבראניין ד31
לפט – אלפאט ב8; ג23, 26
לפט, תלפט ד15
לשון ה3
לשון ברור א9
לשון זכר א8
לשון נקבה א9
לשון ענה א9

מוצע, מואצע ג18; ד10
מיודע א7

שָׂרָף (שרפים) – שָׂרַף (פעל) (ה׳, 28–31)

צירף שם עצם לפועל עבר נסתר.

עָפָר – עָפַר (ה׳, 32)

שם עצם נפרד ובסמיכות.

חָתָן – חָתַן (ה׳, 32)

שם עצם נפרד ובסמיכות.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ ת״ק עמודה ב׳: ״חתן ד׳ בקרי׳ . . . חד וחתן״ ואינו מתאים לענייננו.

בַּיִת – בָּיִת (ה׳, 9–10)

באמצע הפסוק בפתח ובסוף הפסוק בקמץ.

שַׁק – שָׂק (ה׳, 10–12)

באמצע הפסוק בפתח ובסוף פסוק בקמץ.

מסורה, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ תרמ״ח עמודה ב׳: ״ד׳ קמ׳ וכל בַּשָּׂק ואס״ף דכו׳״. והוא מונה: ויקרא י״א:ל״ב; ירמיה ו׳:כ״ו; עמוס ח׳:י׳; תהלים ל״ה:י״ג.

אָבַל (ה׳, 12–13)

כולם בפתח ואין אחד בסוף פסוק, ומנה ארבעה: עמוס ח׳:ח והומנה להלן.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ כ״ב עמודה א׳: ״ג׳ פתח׳ וסימ׳: ישעיה כ״ד:ז׳; ל״ג:ט׳; הושע י׳:ה׳״.

אַט – אָט (נטה) – אַט (לאט) (ה׳, 13–16)

עירבב פועל באמצע הפסוק ובסופו משורש נטה עם מלת פועל משורש אטט. ועוד עירבב מלת הפועל כפעול והפך עתיד כפועל ואילו עתיד מהופך ראה כעתיד, וניקוד הקמץ בויו המהפך בגלל האלף לגוף ראשון בענין שקשור בסמיכות של הפועל למלה ״את״.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ כ״ד רק: ״לאט ב׳״.

יָשַׁב – יָשָׁב (ישב); יֵשֵׁב (ישב), יָשָׁב (שוב) (ה׳, 16–20)

עירבב עבר בעתיד וישיבה וחזרה.

עירבב עבר בעתיד וישיבה וחזרה. נעזר המחבר בציון ההוראות: ישיבה, חזרה, מנוחה, וטעמים. ואף לא נתפרש במדה מספקת הנימוק לפסוק ״ישב נא עבדך״, ואולי צ״ל: קמץ שני (כלומר בשין), כי הטעם הוא בראשון (כלומר ביוד).

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ תשמ״ב–תשמ״ה ואין דיוננו ונוכר ״ישב״ בקמץ.

הוּכַן (ה׳, 20–21)

כל הדוגמאות הן בפתח ואין יותר במקרא, ואף לא ציין כי הן בפתח.

רַע – רָע (גם בְּרָע); הָרַע – הָרָע, אָרַע, יֵרַע; מֵרַע – מֵרָע (ה׳, 21–28)

ציון ניקוד ״רע״ בפתח ובקמץ, אולם צירף שם תואר עם הא הידיעה ובלי הא הידיעה ועם פועל ולאלה צירף מרע בפתח ובקמץ שהוא הפועל בינוני וכולם משורש רעע.

מסורה, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ תקע״ח עמודה ב׳ מציין רק רע – פתח; עמ׳ תקפ״א עמודה ב׳: ״– מרע בפתח׳״. ויהוא מונה: ישעיה ט׳:ט״ו; משלי י׳:ד׳.

יִצְחַק – יְצָחֵק – יִשְׂחַק – יְשָׂחֵק (ד׳, 21–23)

כאן עירבב פועל עתיד בשם עצם פרטי, פעל עם פיעל, פועל עתיד ופועל בינוני ויפה צירף צדי ושׂין. אף הוא צירף ״מצחק״ כנראה בטעות, אם אין כאן שיבוש מעתיק, שהרי בצירוף מלה זו אין לא מבטא דומה ולא אותיות שוות.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ תשל״ה דן: ויצחק.

חָרְבוֹת, חַרְבוֹת (נשק) – חֳרָבוֹת (חורבן) (ד׳, 23–26)

כאן עירבב שני שמות עצם בסמיכות ובלי סמיכות ובניקוד שונה ובהוראה שונה.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ תצ״ז עמודה ב׳: ״חרבותיהם ב׳ בקריה חד חסר וחד מלא״; עמ׳ תצ״ח עמודה א׳: ״בחרבות ב׳״; ושניהם אינם לענייננו.

חָרְבָה (חורבן) – חֳרָבָה (יבשה) – חָרְבָה (חורבן) (ד׳, 27–30)

כאן שם עצם ושם תואר ובניקוד שונה קמץ וצירי, ואף צירף ניקוד שונה בעין הפועל וניקוד שונה בפא הפועל.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ תצ״ז עמודה א׳: ״חרבה ג׳ משלי י״ז:א׳; נחום ב׳:ג׳, י״ז; ואחד וחרבה ויקרא ז׳:י׳; עמ׳ תצ״ח עמודה א׳: ״לחרבה ב׳ ירמיה כ״ה:י״א, י״ח״. ושניהם אינם מתאימים לענייננו.

הַעֲוִרִים – הָעִבְרִים (ד׳, 30–ה׳, 1)

כאן צירף שני שמות בכתיב שונה ובניקוד שונה ובהוראות שונות בהא הידיעה. אף צירף ל״ר ול״י מנוקד בקמץ ואינו מתאים לדבריו. בספרינו: הָעִוֵּר.

אֶרֶם – אֲרַם (ה׳, 1–3)

בסמוך פתח ובנפרד קמץ.

חֲדָשִׁים – חֳדָשִׁים (ה׳, 3–4)

כתיב שונה וניקוד שונה חטף פתח וחטף קמץ.

תּוּבַל – תֹּבָל; יוּבַל – יוֹבָל (ה׳, 4–6)

צירף שם עצם פרטי ופועל עתיד ל״נ לנסתר.

מסורה, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ תש״ב עמודה ב׳: ״ו פת״ ולא יותר. – יובל אין.

נֶעֱזַב – נֶעֱזָב (ה׳, 6–8)

כתיב שווה והבדיל בין קמץ לפתח ועירבב עבר בבינוני.

שַׁי – שָׁי – אֲשַׁי (ה׳, 8–9)

הבדיל ב״שׁי״ בסוף פסוק ובתוכו, אולם צירף ״אשׁי״ שאינה מעניינו.

טוֹב – טוּב (ד׳, 1–5)

שניהם אינם עניין לשינויים בניקוד, וצירף מלים אלה רק בצורות סמיכות.
אין בספרות מסורה (מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ תרי״ז–תרי״ט דן בצורות שונות של שורש זה ואינם לענייננו).

שָׁמַיִם – שָׁמָיִם (ד׳, 5–7)

פרט לתהלים קמ״ח: ד׳ כולם בפתח.
בספרינו כולם בפתח פרט לתהלים קמ״ח:ד׳.
מסורה, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ תרל״ז עמודה א׳: ״כל פת׳ וכל אתנ׳ וסוף פסוק קמ׳״.

תִּשְׁמַע – תִּשְׁמָע (ד׳, 8–10)

שניהם בנחמיה, פעם אחת בפתח (ט׳:כ״ח) ופעם אחת בקמץ (ט׳:כ״ז). ויש עוד בקמץ (דברים ל׳:י״ז; חבקוק א׳:ב׳; איוב ט״ו:ח׳).

לוֹחֲמִי (ד׳, 11)

הביא רק פסוק זה, כדי לציין את הקמץ במים.

מִנְּעָרַי – מִנְּעָרָי (ד׳, 12)

פעם אחת בפתח: שמואל י״ב:ב׳; ופעם אחת בקמץ: מלכים א׳ י״ח:י״ב.

עֲדַת – עֵדָת (ד׳, 12–15)

כאן צירף שתי לשונות: עברית לארמית ואף ציין, כי הביא לשם ציון פתח וקמץ בשתי מלים שוות בכתיבן בלבד.
מסורה, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ שע״ו עמודה א׳: ״ב׳ קמצ׳ (דניאל ג׳:כ״ז; ד׳:כ״ח) וכל לשון ארמית עדת קמצ׳ וכל לשון קדש פתח״.

מַיִם – מָיִם (ד׳, 15–18)

באתנח וסוף פסוק בקמץ פרט לשנים בפתח: ישעיה מ״א:י״ח; משלי ל׳:ט״ז.
מסורה, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ רי״א עמדה ב׳: ״ב׳ וקפין וכל אתנח׳ וסוף פיסוק כות׳״.
ונותן שלושה: תהלים ק״ז:ל״ה; ס״ו:י״ב; משלי ל׳:ט״ו. ועי׳ דקה״ט, עמ׳ 63; אכלה ואכלה, עמ׳ 174.
בסך הכול חמישה פסוקים, ורק פסוק אחד משותף לשני המקורות.

גַּד – גָּד (ד׳, 18–21)

שלושה בפתח (שמות ט״ז:ל״א; במדבר י״א:ז׳; ישעיה ס״ה:י״א), והיתר בקמץ.
עירבב שם זרע ושם אליל, ששניהם בפתח; ושם עצם ושם עצם פרטי, ששניהם בקמץ. ועוד הוסיף וראה באלה שבפתח פועל פעול ובאלה שהם בקמץ פועל פועל.
מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ ר״ד עמודה ב׳: שמות ט״ז:ל״א; במדבר י״א:ז׳.

נמצא גם ב"כתאב אלמצותאת". עי' אלוני, שו' 112–115; מסורה, כרך ב', עמ' תקצ"ב עמודה א': שא; תתכ"ה עמודה ב': שה; אין בדקה"ט, אכלה ואכלה, ומסורה גדולה. כאן צורפו מין בשאינו מינו שם עצם "שה" עם פועל "שא" (נשא), שני כתיבים בהא ובאלף, שתי לשונות עברית וארמית, אולם צא ודוק העיקר – המבטא שווה.

עֵת – עֶת (ג', 3–8)

במקף תמיד בסגול ונותן דוגמה חגי א':ב' (פעמים); ואם לא – בצירי פרט לאחד שצ"ל בצירי והוא בסגול ויקרא ט"ו:כ"ה, ובסך הכל שלושה.

דקה"ט, עמ' 63: כל קריה עֵת קמץ קטן בר מן ג' פתח קטן; ומונה שלשתם.

מסורה, כרך ב', עמ' תכ"ו עמודה ב': "ג' פת' בקרי'" ומונה שלשתם.

כֵּן – כֶּן (ג', 8–12)

במקף תמיד בסגול ומונה שתי דוגמאות: בראשית מ"ד:י'; איוב ה':כ"ז. ואם לא – בצירי, ומונה ארבע דוגמאות.

דקה"ט, עמ' 37–38 מונה שנים בסגול: משלי כ"ג:ז'; איוב ה':כ"ז. כאן אין מקום למניין היוצאים מן הכלל, כי רק דוגמאות לפנינו.

תֵּן – תֶּן (ג', 12–18)

במקף תמיד בסגול. בלי מקף תמיד צירי פרט לשנים: תהלים כ"ח:ד'; במדבר י"ז:י"א.

עֵד – עֶד (ג', 18–21)

בהוראות עד ראייה בצירי, ומונה גם ירמיה כ"ט:כ"ג.

בהוראת נצח בסגול אין בספרות המסורה. ועי' דקה"ט, עמ' 75 שו' 15–16.

שֵׁשׁ – שֶׁשׁ (ג', 21–22)

רק אחד בסגול: משלי ו':ט"ז.

וכן בדקה"ט, עמ' 63; מסורה, כרך ב', עמ' תרנ"א עמודה א': "כל שש קמ' שתי נקודות בר מן חד שלושה נקודות".

אֵרֶץ – אֶרֶץ (ד', 1)

באתנחתא וסוף פסוק בקמץ פרט לארבעה בסגול ואינו יודעים אלה הם. מאחר שהביא רק אחד מהם: תהלים ל"ה:כ', הנמצא במסורה גדולה כאחד מהארבע.

מסורה גדולה: "ארץ ד' פתחין באתנח": תהלים ל"ה:כ'; מ"ח:י"א; משלי ל':י"ד; ישעיה י"ד:ט'.

מסורה, כרך א', עמ' ק"ז עמודה א': "י"ד קמ' בקרי'"; עמודה ב': וכל אס"ף דכו' במ"ד: רגעי ארץ תהלים ל"ה:כ'; מ"ח:י"א; משלי ל':י"ד, כ"א. ולא מנה ישעיה י"ד:ט'. נמצא כי בסך הכול חמישה, ושלושה מהם משותפים למסורה גדולה ומסורה.

ענייני המסורה

(לפי הכתוב ב„סדר הסימנים")

שֵׁן – שָׁן (ב׳, 1)

רק אחד בסגול דברים ל״ב:כ״ד.

דקה״ט, עמ׳ 63: תמיד שֵׁן פרט לשנים בסגול דברים ל״ב:כ״ד; איוב ל״ט:כ״ח.

דקה״ט, עמ׳ 37–38: רק אחד בסגול איוב ל״ט:כ״ח.

נמצא כי בשני מקורות נמנה רק אחד יוצא מהם ובכל אחד מקור שונה ובמקור השלישי שניהם גם יחד.

יֵשׁ – יֶשׁ (ב׳, 2)

בדף החסר בידנו ואינני יודעים מה נאמר בו.

דקה״ט, עמ׳ 37–38: שלושה במקף בצירי: איוב ט׳:ל״ג וקהלת ו׳:י״א; שלושה בסגול: בראשית ל״א:כ״ט; מ״ד:כ׳; קהלת ח׳:י״ד. ויש עוד בספרינו גם בצירי וגם בסגול.

הֵן – הֶן (ב׳, 2–9)

תמיד הֵן פרט 1) לארבע: במדבר כ״ג:כ״ד; שם, ט׳; איוב ל״א:ל״ה; ל״ג:י״ב, 2) וארבע בצירוף מקף וסמיכות: איוב ל״ו:כ״ו; י״ג:כ״א; כ״ו:י״ד; ל״ג:כ״ט.

דקה״ט, עמ׳ 37–38: תמיד הֵן פרט לשש: במדבר כ״ג:ט׳; שם, כ״ד; איוב ח׳:י״ט; ל״ג:י״ב; י״ג:כ״ד; ח׳:כ׳.

מסורה, כרך א׳, עמ׳ שט״ו עמודה ב׳: „ה׳ פתח בקרי׳: במדבר כ״ג:כ״ד; ט׳; איוב ח׳:י״ט; ל״א:ל״ה; ל״ג:י״ב. וכֹל, כָּל, אֵל, אֵלֶה דכותהון".

נמצא כי ארבעה משותפים. ארבעה ב„סדר הסימנים" שאין בדקה״ט (איוב ל״ו:כ״ו; ל״א:ל״ה; כ״ו:י״ד; ל״ג:כ״ט). שנים בדקה״ט וחסרים ב„סדר הסימנים": איוב ח׳:י״ט; כ׳; ובסך הכל עשרה.

לֶךְ – לָךְ (ב׳, 9–14)

במקף תמיד בסגול פרט לאחד בצירי: משלי ו׳:ו׳.

אין במקורות אחרים ואף כאן תנאי ולא נמנו המקומות.

שֶׁה – שֵׂה (ב׳, 15–ג׳, 3)

כל שה בסגול פרט לארבעה: 1) שלושה בהא: דברים י״ד:ד׳; ישעיה מ״ג:כ״ג. 2) אחד באלף: עזרא ה׳:ט״ו.

רַע בטוב[285]; יאמרו רַע[286]; לעשות רַע לפניך[287]. כמוהו הָרַע: ויעש
הרַע[288]; ועשה הרַע[289]; על הרַע[290]; וטוב וָרָע[291]. לא אַרַע לך[292]; ולא אַרַע לכם[293] –
פעול; וכמוהו (הוראת) הנצחון: וירַע העם ויתקעו[294]. רָע, הָרָע בא בשער לא סמוך.
מרַע מקשיב[295]; חנף ומָרָע[296] – בא בשער לא סמוך: טוב בָרָע[297];
כי בָרָע הוא[298]; וידברו בָרָע עשק[299]; ורשעים מלאו רָע[300]; כל עשה
רָע[301]; לעשות רַע[302]; ולא תעשה רָע בעיני סרני פלשתים[303]. כל "שרף"
לשון נחש בקמץ, כי הוא לא סמוך: נחש שָׂרָף[304]; עשה לך שָׂרָף[305].
וכמוהו המלאכים: שָׂרָפים עמדים[306]. וכל שריפה – בפתח, כי הוא
סמוך: אשר שָׂרַף ה'[307]; שָׂרַף במו אש[308]; שָׂרַף באש[309]; ושָׂרַף אשירה[310].
ועפר בעָפָר[311]; כל עֲפַר הארץ[312]. חַתָן דמים[313] חָתָן ובניך ובנותיך[314].

285 ויקרא כ"ז:י'.
286 תהלים מ"א:ו'.
287 נחמיה ט':כ"ח.
288 מלכים א ט"ו:כ"ו ועוד.
289 ירמיה י"ח:י': הרעה (קרי וכתיב).
290 מיכה ז':ג'.
291 בראשית ב':ט'.
292 שמואל א כ"ו:כ"א.
293 ירמיה כ"ה:ו'.
294 יהושע ו':כ'.
295 משלי י"ז:ד'.
296 ישעיה ט':ט"ז.
297 ויקרא כ"ז:י'.
298 שמות ל':ב:כ"ב.
299 תהלים ע"נ ח'.
300 משלי י"ב:כ"א.
301 מלאכי ב':י"ז.
302 נחמיה ט':כ"ח ועוד.
303 שמואל א כ"ט:ו'.
304 דברים ח':ט"ו.
305 במדבר כ"א:ח'.
306 ישעיה ו':ב'.
307 ויקרא י':ו'.
308 ישעיה מ"ד:ט"ז.
309 מלכים ב כ"ה:ט'.
310 שם כ"נ:ט"ו.
311 שמואל ב ט"ז:י"נ.
312 שמות ח':י"נ.
313 שמות ד':כ"ה.
314 בראשית י"ט:י"ב.

ניחוח[252]. והנפרד – קמץ: לך יובילו מלכים שֵׁי[253]. בָּיִת, לְבָיִת, הַבָּיִת – נפרדים. וכמוהו באתנחתא: ויבן לו בַּיִת[254]; והנה השק על בשרו מִבַּיִת[255]. וכל שק, בשק נפרדים: לבושי שָׂק[256]. שַׂק ואפר[257] ושַׂק ואפר*[257]; וישם שַׂק במתניו[258]. אבל תירוש[259] אֲבַל עליו[260] אבל אומללה[261]; ואבל כל יושב בה[262]. ויהלך אַט[263] – פתוח[264] ונכנס בפרק הפעול; דרכו שמרתי ולא אָטְ[265] – בשער פועל, כלומר אעשה צדק; ואַט אליו אכיל[266] – עתיד; וָאַט את ידי עליך[267] – מפרק הפעול מחייב הפועל וסמיכתו של[268] "אט" ב"אֶת ידי". "ישב" בהוראת שיכון כולו יבוא בשער סמוך[269]: ישַׁב בארץ כנען[270]; כי יָשַׁב המלך[271]. ושנים[272] בהוראת חזרה – בקמץ, כי השני טעמו בראשית המלה: יָשָׁב־נא עבדך[273]; יָשָׁב־נא אפך[274]. בהוראת ישיבה בקמץ, כי הם[275] סוף פסוק ואתנחתא ונפרדו: בעריו יָשָׁב[276]; ובמושב לצים לא יָשָׁב[277]; ה' למבול יָשָׁב[278]. והוכן בחסד[279]; והוכַן הסוכך[280]; והוכַן והניחה שם[281]; גם הוא למלך הוכַן[282]. רַע בפתח, וכל מה שהוא בשער הנפרדים – בקמץ: רַע מנעוריו[283]; יגמר נא רַע[284] או

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252 במדבר כ"ח:ב'. כאן צירף אשי עם שי, אף כי שני שמות שונים הם.
253 תהלים ס"ח:ל'.
254 בראשית ל"ג:י"ז.
255 מלכים ב ו':ל'.
256 תהלים ס"ט:י"ב. ולא ציין, כי צ"ל: קמץ.
257 אסתר ד':ג'. ולא ציין, כי צ"ל: פתח.
257* דניאל ט':נ'.
258 בראשית ל"ז:ל"ד.
259 ישעיה כ"ד:ז'.
260 הושע י':ה'.
261 ישעיה ל"ג:ט'.
262 עמוס ח':ח'.
263 מלכים א כ"א:כ"ז.
264 פתח – פעול; קמץ – פועל.
265 איוב כ"ג:י"א: נטה.
266 הושע י"א:ד'; ואט (נטה) . . . אוכיל.
267 ירמיה ט"ו:ו'.
268 מחברנו רואה את אט בפתח כפעול, אולם הוא פוֹעַל בגלל הקשרו במושא.
269 מחברנו חופס את הפתח בישב כסמוך.
270 בראשית י"ג:י"ב.
271 שמואל ב ז':א'.
272 כלומר, "ישב" בשני פסוקים בשני קמצים במשמעות חזר.
273 שמואל ב י"ט:ל"ח.
274 דניאל ט':ט"ז.
275 גם "ישב" במשמעות ישיבה בשני קמצים בהפסק.
276 ירמיה מ"ט:א'. – בכה"י: בעליו – שיבוש המעתיק.
277 תהלים א':א'.
278 שם כ"ט:י'.
279 ישעיה ט"ז:ה'.
280 נחום ב':ו': והכן.
281 זכריה ה':י"א.
282 ישעיה ל':ל"ג.
283 בראשית ח':כ"א.
284 תהלים ז':י'.

אשר ירושלם חֳרֵבה[222]; טוב פת חֲרֵבה[223]; וכל מנחה בלולה־בשמן
וחֲרֵבה[224] – מיובש. והחורבן – בנפרד קמץ: העיר הזאת
חָרְבָּה[225]. כל לשון זלזול פתח: הָעורים והפסחים[226] כאשר
ימשש הָעור[227], ותיכתב בויו[228]. כל לשון עברים – קמץ ותיכתב

ה (ג׳, ב)

בבית, [כגון]: ה׳ אלהי הָעברים שלחני אליך[229]. כל ארם סמוך – פתח, כגון:
אֲרַם דמשק[230]; אֲרַם נהרים[231]; אֲרַם צובה[232]; אֲרַם בית רחוב[233]. וכל מה שאינו סמוך –
קמץ, כגון: אָרָם[234]; מן אָרָם[235]; אָרָם מקדם[236]. כל לשון „חדש״ בהוראת חדש –
פתח: חֳדָשים
מקרוב[237]; חֲדָשים לבקרים[238]. וכל „חדשים״ (חודש) – קמץ: שנים חֳדָשים[239]. כל
תובל סמוך[240] – בפתח: תוּבַל קין[241]; תוּבַל למלך[242]; יוּבַל ש׳[243] וכאשר נפרד – קמץ:
ושמן
למצרים יוֹבָל[244] ויוון ותוֹבָל[245] גם אותו לאשור יוֹבָל[246]. נעזַב בית האלהים[247]
נוה משולח ונעזָב[248] – חובר „משולח״ ב„ונעזב״[249], כי הוא דבר אחר
בעניינו. בעת ההיא יובל שַׁי לה׳[250]; יובילו שַׁי למורא[251]; לאשַׁי ריח

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222 נחמיה ב׳:י״ז.
223 משלי י״ז:א׳. 224 ויקרא ז׳:י׳.
225 ירמיה כ״ו:י״ז.
226 שמואל ב ה׳:ו׳.
227 דברים כ״ח:כ״ט: הֶעוֵר!
228 לפי שמיעה, על כן הוא מציין בויו ובבית.
229 שמות ז׳:ט״ז.
230 שמואל ב ח׳:ה׳.
231 בראשית כ״ד:י׳ ועוד.
232 תהלים ס׳:ב׳.
233 שמואל ב י׳:ו׳.
234 בראשית כ״ב:כ״א ועוד.
235 במדבר כ״ג:ז׳. 236 ישעיה ט׳:י״א.
237 דברים ל״ב:י״ז.
238 איכה ג׳:כ״ג.
239 שופטים י״א:ל״ז.
240 כאן עירבב שע״פ עם פועל ולפיו פועל – תובל למלך ויובל שי – סמוך.
241 בראשית ד׳:כ״ב.
242 תהלים מ״ה:ט״ו.
243 ישעיה י״ח:ז׳. 244 הושע י״ב:ב׳.
245 דברי־הימים א א׳:ה׳.
246 הושע י׳:ו׳.
247 נחמיה י״ג:י״א.
248 ישעיה כ״ז:י׳.
249 ייתכן לבאר: צורף משולח בויו נעזב. כי שתי המלים יש להם הוראה אחת. קפץ איפוא לביאור המלה „משולח״. – לחיק, צ׳ל: לחק, וזה כתיב מלא.
250 ישעיה י״ח:ז׳; וכבר הובא לעיל הערה 243, אולם שם: יובל; וכאן: שי.
251 תהלים ע״ו:י״ב.

באופן מבטאו. מים בקמץ: נחלי מָיִם[191]; אפיקי מָיִם[192]; בין מים
למָיִם[193]; ויהי למָיִם[194], נפרדים בגלל הזקף המפריד כמו סוף פסוק. בגלל זאת
כל אתנחתא וסוף פסוק מָיִם. והשנים המתנגדים: ואשים מדבר לאגם
מַיִם[195]; ארץ לא שבעה מַיִם[196] – נתחברו במה שבא אחריהם. „גד" –
בשער הפעול בפתח: כזרע גָּד[197]; כזרע גַּד[198]; הערכים לַגַּד[199].
ולו נאמר בקמץ, ייכנס לשער הפועל[200]. ויש שם אדם: בא
גָּד[201]; גָּד הנביא[202]. יִצְחַק לי[203]; וַיִּצְחַק לפניהם[204]; ויהי כְּמְצַחֵק בְּעיני
חתניו[205]. ימי יִצְחָק[206]; וְיִצְחָק[207]; יושב בשמים יִשְׂחָק[208]; אדני יִשְׂחַק לו[209];
יִשְׂחַק לפחד[210]. כל „חרבות" (בהוראת) חורבן יישוב – קמץ: נבנה חָרְבוֹת[211];
בֶּחֳרָבוֹת[212]; הולכים . . . כשועלים בָּחֳרָבוֹת[213]; כָּחֳרָבוֹת מעולם[214] כמוהו
יבוא כל[215]. וכל „חרבות" יבוא בפתח: חָרָבוֹת שניו[216]; עם חַרְבוֹתיהם[217];
וכתתו חַרְבוֹתם[218]; חַרְבוֹתיהם[219]; חַרְבות צורים[220]; וַחֲרָבות וברמחים[221].
וכאשר יהיה שם עיר או בנפרד – נאמר בקמץ קטן:

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191 דברים ח׳:ז׳; י׳:ו׳. ויש ירמיה ל״א:ח׳: נחלי מים – בפתח.
192 יואל א׳:כ׳.
193 בראשית א׳:ו׳.
194 יהושע ז׳:ה׳.
195 ישעיה מ״א:י״ח.
196 משלי ל׳:ט״ו.
197 שמות ט״ו:ל״א.
198 במדבר י״א:ז׳.
199 ישעיה ס״ה:י״א.
200 לפי המחבר זה גד בפתח – פעול; גד בקמץ – פועל, כמו שמור – שומר, ואינו נכון.
201 בראשית ל׳:י״א (כתיב: בגד).
202 שמואל א כ׳:ב:ה׳; שמואל ב כ״ד:י״א.
203 בראשית כ״א:ו׳: יצחק – פעל עתיד.
204 שופטים ט״ז:כ״ה; ויצחק – פיעל עתיד מהופך לעבר.
205 בראשית י״ט:י״ד: כמצחק – פיעל בינוני.
206 בראשית ל״ה:כ״ח: יצחק – שם עצם פרטי.
207 שם י״ז:י״ז: ויצחק – קל עתיד מהופך לעבר.
208 תהלים ב׳:ד׳: ישחק – פעל עתיד בהפסק.
209 תהלים ל״ז:י״ג: ישחק – פעל עתיד.
210 איוב ל״ט:כ״ב: ישחק – פעל עתיד.
211 מלאכי א׳:ד׳.
212 יחזקאל י״ג:כ״ו.
213 יחזקאל י״ג:ו׳- ד׳. המלה הולכים בפסוק הקודם: הולכים אחר רוחם ולבלתי ראו כשועלים בחרבות.
214 שם כ״ו:כ׳.
215 לא נשלם הפסוק וצ״ל: וכטוהו יבוא כל לשון חורבן.
216 משלי ל׳:י״ד.
217 נחמיה ד׳:ז׳.
218 ישעיה ב׳:ד׳.
219 מיכה ד׳:ג׳.
220 יהושע ה׳:כ׳, ג׳.
221 מלכים א י״ח:כ״ח.

סמוך[160], באמרך: טוֹב ה׳[161]; טוֹב אתה[162]; כָּטוֹב לבם[163]; נפשו בְּטוֹב תלין[164]; ומה שדומה לו[165]: וכל טוּב מצרים[166]; וכל טוּב דמשק[167]; לראות בְּטוּב־ה׳[168] כמוה יוצא אל ה׳[169]. ומה שדומה לו[170]: הללויה הללו את ה׳ מן השמַים[171] פתח בגלל חיבורו במרומים[172]. וכאשר נפרד (השני) בקמץ[173]: הללוהו שמי השמָים[174]. הפריד בו מים[175]. וכמוהו כל אתנחתא וסוף פסוק בגלל הפרדתו בעניינים. וכמוהו: ואתה משמים תשמָע וכרחמיך[176] – הפריד בגלל סיום הבקשה[177]. ואתה משמים תשמַע ותצילם כרחמיך[178] הראשון הפריד בזקף[179], כי זוהי הפרדה פירוד קטן. ולא כל המקומות[180]. והתחל נתחיל בעניין הטעמים[181]. וכמוהו ריבה ה׳ את יריבי לחם את לחמָי[182]; כמו מנערַי[183] ומנעָרי[184]. וקשור במה שאחריו: עדַת בני ישראל[185] עדַת דבורים[186] מעדַת ישראל[187]. בניגוד לארמית[188]: וריח נור לא עדָת[189]; מלכותא עדָת מנך[190]. ואמנם הזכרנו הארמית, כי היא דומה לו

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160 שם בלי סמיכות, ולפי דעתו טוב הוא שם בלי סמיכות כמו ,חכם׳.

161 נחום א׳:ז׳ ועוד. 162 שמואל א כ״ט:ט׳.

163 שופטים ט״ז:כ״ה: כיטוב.

164 תהלים כ״ה:י״ג.

165 כלומר טוב אף היא שם עצם נפרד.

166 בראשית מ״ה: י״ח: טוב ארץ מצרים; שם, כ׳: טוב כל ארץ מצרים.

167 מלכים ב ח׳:ט׳.

168 תהלים כ״ז:י״ג.

169 כלומר ה׳ הוא טוב.

170 מסתבר, כי הכוונה מבחינת הסמוך והנפרד.

171 תהלים קמ״ח:א׳.

172 שם, שם.

173 הכוונה לטים של השמים שהוא בקמץ. ואם נכון הנוסח אלב (=השני) ייתכן כי נתכוון לומר. הדוגמה השנייה. ועי׳ שו׳ 109: אלאול = הראשון.

174 תהלים קמ״ח:ד׳.

175 חזר על הנאמר בשורה הקודמת. ועי׳ הערה 173.

176 נחמיה ט׳:כ״ז.

177 טים ,תשמע׳ בקמץ.

178 נחמיה ט׳:כ״ח.

179 ואין זקף בספרינו אלא זרקא.

180 לא ברור לאן נמשך.

181 אולם צ׳ל: ומנשרה = ונבאר זאת, שהרי לא התחיל אחר כך בטעמים. וייתכן, כי שני המשפטים האחרונים גם יחד נשתרבבו שלא במקומם.

182 תהלים ל״ה:א׳.

183 שמואל א י״ב:ב׳.

184 מלכים א י״ח:י״ב.

185 שמות ט״ז:ב׳ ועוד.

186 שופטים י״ד:ח׳.

187 שמות י״ב:י״ט.

188 המונח ארכאני – ארמית. בתרגום רס״ג לתורה בראשית. כ״ה:כ׳: אלארמני (פעמים). נ׳אמץ אלאלפאט מכנה לשון זר: אלסריאני. ועי׳ ערך ארם: ,ארמית היו לנה אלסריאני ויהוא יקול וללמדם ספר ולשון כשדים׳ (דניאל א׳:ד׳).

189 דניאל נ׳:כ״ז. 190 שם ד׳:כ״ח.

נקודות – ייקרא בשתי נקודות, כגון: תֵּן־להם ה'[140], והסיבה היא התנועה אשר ביניהם. וכל המקרא הולך על דרך זו פרט לשנים בניגוד, אף על פי שיש ביניהן נקודות והן בשלוש נקודות, האחד[141]: תֵּן להם כפעלם; והאחר[142] קח את המחתה ותֵּן־עליה אש. וכל מה שיחובר אליו במקף הוא מהסוג הזה כולו, והריהו לעולם בשתי נקודות ולא תצטרך שאחזור הדיבור בעניינם בכל מקום ומקום. המאמר בעניין עֵד[143].

כל "עד" בשתי נקודות פירושו עד, כגון: עֵד־שקר[144]; עֵד אמת[145]; עֵד־כזבים[146] כולם. וכל מה שפירושו הוא לנצח או עד עולם, הריהו בפתח[147]: לעולם ועֶד; וכל מה שדומה לו. והעד (בהוראה) – בשתי נקודות[148]: היודע ועֵד[149]. ואין אצלנו "שֵׁשׁ"

אלא אחד[150]: שֵׁשׁ־הנה[151]. ואתה יודע סיבתה ממה שקדם. וכבר השלמנו הדיבור בחלק הראשון של המלים המורכבות משתי אותיות שתי אותיות באיכות ניקודן וסיבותיהן, והשלמנו הדיבור בהן עד סופן[152]. ואנחנו בעזרת ה' נתחיל הדיבור בשער זה בעניין מה שיש מהמלים המורכבות משלוש אותיות וראשון מה שנתחיל בו בשער זה הוא "אפעל" והוא שער הצווי[153]. והמאמר הראשון ממנו באות[154].

ד (ג, א)

וכל[155] אתנחתא וסוף פסוק[156] למשל ופרט לארבעה המתוארים[157]: רגעי אֶרץ, והם כל המחוברים[158]. כל טוֹב, בְּטוֹב, כְּטוֹב, לְטוֹב שם עצם נפרד[159] בלתי

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140 הושע ט':י"ד.

141 תהלים כ"ח:ד'.

142 במדבר י"ו:י"א.

143 אין בספרות המסורה.

144 דברים י"ט:י"ח.

145 משלי י"ד:כ"ה.

146 שם כ"א:כ"ח.

147 שמות ט"ו:י"ח ועוד.

148 חזר למלה בהוראת עד כאשר המלה יש לה ויו החיבור בראשה ודומה לכתיב המלה בהוראת לנצח.

149 ירמיה כ"ט:כ"ג.

150 ויש להשלים: בפתח (= סגול).

151 משלי ו':ט"ז.

152 זוהי שיטת השרשים לפני חיוג. המחצית השנייה של המאה העשירית.

153 פותח בצווי. ע' באכר, עמ' 55 והערה 3; א. דותן, סיני, מא (תש"ד), עמ' שט–שי.

154 ואין הדף הבא המשך דף זה. אולם מכאן לפנים אנו שברך המסוך היה דיין על צווי.

155 מסתבר, כי דן במלה ארץ – ארץ.

156 שני מונחים אלה מופיעים בחיבורנו לראשונה כאן.

157 תהלים ל"ה:כ'. ולא ברורה כוונת המלה אלמוצופה המתוארים. ושמא צ"ל אלמנפצלה הנפרדים. ועי' ביורור הנידון בענייני המסורה.

158 והכוונה "ארץ" פרט למקרים המכרים תמיד בצורת סמיכות ומנוקדות ארץ.

159 כוונת זה תורגם לעבריית: סנהג עצמו והנוהגים נפשיתם. ועי' מבוא המונחים; אריני, שו' 124 והערה 261. רשימת המונחים, עמ' 359.

שאומר כך, אינו יודע בהגדרת הסמיכות משהו בלשון העברית, וזאת כי הסמיכות לפי דעתם מה שהוא סמוך לדבר אחד ומיוחד אליו, הריהו כייחוס המי ן אל הסוג וייחוס העצם למין. ומן המפורסמות, כי באמרנו שה הוא עצם וכאשר יחסנוהו אל כבשים, הרי כבר ייחסנו עצם למינו וזוהי הסמיכות האמיתית. ובנוגע לשה חום, הרי אין ה"חום" דבר חוץ ל"שה" אלא תואר צבע

ג (ב, ב)

וכמוהו ושה בריה ושה רזה, תואר מקרה שקורה בו מן הרזון והשומן ואיזה (שם אחר) מחוץ ל(שה) כאן[121], עד אשר אנו אומרים כי הוא סמוך אליו.

וכבר הסברתי לך ההבדל ביניהם[122]. המאמר בענין עֶת[123], הריהו כמו המאמר בעניין "לך" שווה לדוגמה זו[124]: לא עֶת־בא עֶת־בית ה'. וכל מה שהיה ביניהם משהו מן הנקודות[125] – ייקרא בשתי נקודות (צירי), כגון[126]: ועֶת־צרה היא ליעקב; וכל מה שדומה לו

פרט לאחד, למרות שיש נקודות ביניהן, והוא (בכל זאת) בשלוש והוא מלת זמן[127]: בלא עֶת־נדתה.

ועוד אחד אחר[128]: שלם וכעֶת. וכל[129] וכעֶת ובעֶת במקרא – בקמץ קטן.

וכמותו כל נפרד בלא מקף – בשתי נקודות לעולם[130]. המאמר בעניין כֵּן כמות מה שקדם שווה: גם עתה כדבריכם כֵּן־הוא[131]; הנה זאת חקרנוה כֵּן־היא[132]; ואם היה ביניהם משהו מהנקודות ייקרא בשתי נקודות, כמות[133]: כֵּן צדקה לחיים; פרט לזאת שלוש כאן מבוארות וגם הן לפי חוק זה, ואלה הן: כמות זה כֵּן מות זה[134]; כֵּן איש רמה את רעהו[135]; כֵּן איש נודד ממקומו[136]. וכמוהו המאמר בעניין תֵּן[137]. תֵּן־לי הנפש[138]; עתה חכמה ומדע תֵּן־לי[139]; למרות שיש כאן ביניהם

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121 עי' בשו' הסמוכה והערה 122.

122 מסתבר איפוא כי הוא דן בכעיית העצם והמקרה (קאים בדאתה, וערץ ארץ) במקום אחר בספר בהרחבה.

123 דקה"ט, עמ' 63.

124 חני א':ב'.

125 שבין המלה המנוקדת ובין הטעם המפסיק, עי' מבוא.

126 ירמיה ל':ז'.

127 ויקרא ט"ו:כ"ה.

128 עזרא ד':י"ז.

129 ולא הוסיף: "ולעת", כי זו נמצאת גם בסגול.

130 ומבדיל המחבר בין כתוב בצירי וכתוב בסגול בלי מקף וכתוב בסגול במקף.

131 בראשית ס"ד:י'.

132 איוב ה':כ"ז – דקה"ט, מנה עוד דוגמה: משלי כ"ג:ז'.

133 משלי י"א:י"ט.

134 קהלת ג':י"ט.

135 משלי כ"ו:י"ט.

136 שם כ"ז:ח'.

137 אין בספרות המסורה.

138 בראשית י"ד:כ"א.

139 דברי־הימים ב א':י'.

הֶן תוי שדי[94]; הֶן זאת לא צדקת[95]; וכל שהוא סמוך[96] לארבע מלים אלה כמותה, ייקרא בפתח (=סגול), והן: כָּל, כֹּל, אֵל, אֵלֶּה, כמות[97]: הֶן כל־אלה הֶן־כל[98]; הֶן־אֵל שגיא[99]; הֶן־אֵלה קצות[100]. המאמר בעניין לֵך[101].

כל „לך" במקרא במקף[102], הריהו בשלוש נקודות[103] ייקרא פרט לאחד[104]: לֵך־אל נמלה עצל. ולא קשה לך ידיעת הסיבה[105] בכל אלה, כי הוא רחוק מהטעם וביניהם נקודות ומלכים[106]. ומה שאין ביניהם מלך ייקרא בשלוש נקודות, כגון: לֶך לך מארצך[107]; ולֶך לך אל ארץ[108]; לֶך רד[109]; לֶך בא[110]; וכדומה להן. וכל שהוא בהפסק (קטע) וכל מה שלא היה מחובר, הריהו תמיד בשתי נקודות[111].

המאמר על שֶׁה[112]. כל „שה" במקרא קוראים בסגול פרט לארבעה שקוראים בצירי והארבעה מהם אחד הנכתב באלף, והוא[113]: שֵׂא אזל אחת המו, ופירושו נשׂא, הנגזרת מן שָׂא, שְׂאוּ, יִשָּׂא; ושלושת האחרים מנוקדים בצירי, כי הם בסמיכות, ואלה הם: שֵׂה כבשים ושֵׂה עזים[114]; שֵׂה עולותיך[115]. ומה שאינו בסמיכות, הריהו בסגול, כגון: ושור או שֶׂה[116]; משור עד שֶׂה[117]. ואם אמר אומר, כי אנחנו מוצאים שֶׂה נקד וכל שֶׂה חום[118]; שֶׂה בריה שֶׂה רזה[119] אנו מוצאים אותם בסמיכות וקוראים בפתח[120]. והרי מי

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94 שם ל"א:ל"ה. לא הובא בדקה"ט.

95 שם ל"ג:י"ב. דקה"ט מביא פסוקים נוספים.

96 לא השתמש במונח „מצאף", כי לפיו הסמיכות היא בין שם לשם בלבד.

97 איוב ל"ג:כ"ט. לא הובא בדקה"ט.

98 שם י"ג:א'.

99 שם ל"ו:כ"ו (בדקה"ט מובא רק „הן אל" וצויין מ"מ איוב ח':כ'; אולם כאן: הן – בצירי, ויש לתקן).

100 שם כ"ו:י"ד (לא הובא בדקה"ט).

101 אין בספרות המסורה.

102 הוא מציין מקף ומבדיל בין הבא במקף או מבלעדיו.

103 כאן השתמש בספירת הנקודות במקום שמות התנועות, אף כי השתמש גם בפתח במקום סגול. מסתבר, כי סימון הסגול במספר הנקודות בא בגלל החילוף של סגול בפתח.

104 משלי ו':ו'. 105 עי' הערה 56.

106 בין הטעם והניקוד של המלה הקצרה.

107 בראשית י"ב:א'. 108 כ"ב:ב'.

109 שמות י"ט:כ"ד ול"ב:ז'.

110 ישעיה כ"ב:ט"ו ויחזקאל ג':ד'.

111 ולא השתמש במונח „מנקטע" במקומות אחרים. ומסתבר בעיני, כי שתי המלים „וכל מנקטע" יתירות והקוים ממעל למלה האחרונה סימן מחיקה הוא.

112 נמצא ב„כתאב אלמצותאת". עי' אלוני, שו' 112–115.

113 עזרא ה':ט"ו.

114 דברים י"ד:ד' (שנים!).

115 ישעיה מ"ג:כ"ג.

116 ויקרא כ"ב:כ"ח והשווה שמות כ"ב:ט'.

117 שמואל א ט"ו:ג' (שם: משור ועד שה).

118 בראשית ל"ז:ב': כל שה נקד וטלוא וכל שה חום.

119 יחזקאל ל"ד:כ': ושפטתי בין שה בריה ובין שה רזה.

120 = סגול, כמו שו' 5 ועי' הערה 90.

מרובים[80], בגלל אורך הדיבור בהם ומה שמצריך להבנתו פירש רחב. וכבר עשה משה ברבי אשר ירחמהו ה׳ ספר גדול[81], שכלל בהקדמתו כי יבאר כל הדברים האלה והרחיב את הדיבור בהם[82]. ואחרי שהשגנו מה שאמר בספר זה יחד עם רבוי כל מה שדיבר בו, לא מצאנוהו, כי מיצה כל מה שכלל במבוא הספר. ולא חסרים שנים, שלושה, ארבעה וחמישה שערים, אלא שהשיג

ממנו המעט והזניח את הרוב. ואף המעט, אשר ביאר אותו בו, אינו משלים ענייניו, אלא ביאר חלקו והשאיר חלק. ועל כן לא השיג המתלמד ממנו התועלת ממנו בשלימות, כלומר שהוא נתכוון כי יתלמד ממנו כללי השוא למשל וחוקיו ויסוד בניינו, לא מצא זאת בו אלא דבר בלתי מספיק. וכן בעניין כללי עשר האותיות[83] לא ימצאם בשלימות. וכך כאשר הגיע לדיון בעניין שבע התנועות (המלכים), דיבר עליהם במקצת והפסיק. אינו אומרים[84], כי

היה זה קוצר יד מצדו, אדרבא היה איש המליצה ואיש החוק מכדי שיואשם בזאת. ואמנם ברח מן האריכות, כדי שלא יכביד על הקורא, ועל כן קיצר. ואמנם הקדמתי דיבור זה, כדי שתבין זאת ותדע, כי השער הראשון אשר דיברנו בו בעניין סיבות השוא ועשר האותיות[85], אכן הוא מבוא לשער זה והקדמה[86].

ב (ב, א)

פרט לאחד וזכרהו, והוא[87]: וְשָׁן־בהמות אשלח בם.

המאמר על הֵן[88]. אם כבר היבנת מה שאמרו בעניין יֵשׁ[89] וכל מה שקדם, הרי אין צורך בפירוש רב ליתר, כי המצב של כל המלים האלה, שהן בנות שתים שתים אותיות, קרוב קרוב (אחד לחבירו) וכמוהו המאמר בעניין הֵן, שיש מהם נקראים בפתח (=סגול)[90] „הֶ״, ואם תרצה תזכרם, ואלה הן: הֵן עם כלביא יקום[91], הֶן עם לבדד ישכון[92]; הֶן־הוא משוש דרכו[93];

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80 מזה נלמד מה רבה היתה ספרות המסורה.

81 ידיעה חשובה מאד ולא כינהו בשמו. אולם זוהה על־ידי כותב טורים אלה בשם .כתאב אלמצותאת׳. עי׳ אלוני.

82 וחבל שלא הגיע לידינו פירושו של משה בן אשר למונחים הנ׳ל וכפי שמסתבר דן ברשימת המונחים הקראית כולה.

83 מסתבר, כי נתכוון לעשר האותיות השימושיות והמשרתות: איתן בהכלשם או בנד כפ׳ח ואהח׳ע.

84 הצטדקות על הביקורת ויחס הכבוד למשה בן אשר.

85 מכאן למדים אנו תוכן השער הראשון.

86 כאן סוף דף א׳, ואילו הדף הסמוך אינו המשך לכתוב כאן.

87 דברים ל׳ב:כ״ד. אולם בספרינו יש גם איוב ל׳ט:כ״ח: שן. דקה״ט, עמ׳ 38 שו׳ 2 הביא רק את דארדון; אולם שם עמ׳ 63: .כל קריה שן ושן קמץ בר מן ב פתח׳ ונמנו שני הפסוקים ביחד.

88 נמצא בספרות המסורה. 89 מכאן שרן בטלה זו בעמוד הקודם.

90 אומר פתח ומתכוון לסגול בהתאם למבטא הישראלי בניקוד הארץ ישראלי.

91 במדבר כ״ג:כ״ד. יש גם בדקה״ט.

92 במדבר כ״ג:ט׳. 93 איוב ח׳:י״ט.

שהם מתמימים עניין[68], [וראש לכל דבר ושני לכל] דבר[69], ועתיד ועבר[70], ומיודע ומנוכר[71],

וגבור ותמוה[72], ותמוה [שנעשה גבור, ו]גבור שנעשה תמוה[73], ולשון זכר ולשון נקבה, ולשון ברו[ר ולשון עגה][74], והולך כמנהג[75] ומעמידו טעמו[76]:

כל אלה העניינים, אשר [בעזרתם יחובר ויו]פרד בשבעת המלכים[77] וכל אחד מהם דובר על אודותם דיבור מיוחד [ועניינים] מתחלפים ואינם דומים[78]. ולא מצאנו העניינים האלה [משותפים ב][79] ספר שלם אלא מחולקים בספרים

סבור, כי הכוונה למסורה ורומז למסורה גדולה: אמצעי אמצעות, ריש וסיפא. ועי' BGT, עמ' 29–30; PGT, עמ' 102–103. ושמא המונחים מתורת ההגיון או תורת הספרות. וזו לשון דקה"ט, עמ' 61 שו' 6–7: „וכל הדברים יגעים . . . לצורך ענינים ויש להם טפל בתחילה ובסוף".

68 כלומר מלות שיש בהן שני טעמים בכל מלה. מאן, עמ' 444, סבור, כי הכוונה לדקה"ט, עמ' 23: „ועוד נמצאו שלושה פסוקים נכונים / מאחיהם משתנים / חלוף אלו הנמנים / אין להם בכל המקרא משנים / באזלא ומארכא במלה חדא חונים" אולם לאו דוקא באלה שני הטעמים אלא כל מלה שיש בה שני טעמים.

69 נדמה, כי לפנינו שני מונחים מתחביר במשפט השימני: ראש לכל דבר – הנושא; שני לכל דבר – הנשוא; – אבתדא וכבר; או לשני מונחים פילוסופיים וגם להם עניין בלשון ראש לכל דבר – העצם, שם העצם ושני לכל דבר – המקרה, שם התואר וכל יתר המלים. אולם כבר נסינו לפרש בהוראות אלה את המונחים מנהג עצמו ומנהג תיבות ותולדותיו. מאן אינו יודע להסביר מונחים אלה.

70 עי' באכר, עמ' 4, 36, 52, 100; BGT, עמ' 1131; PGT, עמ' 110.

71 עם הא הידיעה או בלי הא הידיעה, מערף ומנכר בערבית. עי' תיג'אן, עמ' 371; מאן, עמ' 444 אינו יודע פירוש להם.

72 עניין לסגנון: משפט חיווי והודעה ומשפט שאלה. וכבר פירטו המאוחרים עד שבעה סוגים: רס"ג: קריאה, תמיהה, חיווי, צווי ובקשה; דונש: הגדה, שאלה (תמיהה), קריאה, צווי ובקשה; ריב"ג: חיווי, תמידה, קריאה, איחול, בקשה, צווי ושלילה. בכולם נמצאים כמשותפים שנים: כבר ואסתפראם (או: מסלה) = גבור ותמוה, ונמצא כי גבור = הגדה, חיווי, ידיעה.

73 שמא נתכוון לכתוב: „ג' ההין נראין תמוהין ואינן תמוהין" (מסורה לבראשית י"ח:כ"ה); מסורה גדולה, עמ' 384. ואם זה נכון אין מקום לביאור בהערה 72.

74 ההשלמה היא על פי רשימת המונחים. – הכוונה: לשון ברורה ולשון מעורפלת ומנומגמת. עי' אברמסון, תרביץ, י"ט (תש"ח), עמ' 104; כ"א (תש"י), עמ' 63, ואין להתפלא פליאתו של אברמסון, כי אוסף המונחים כאן מונה כל מקצועות התרבות של הקראי וכולל גם ענייני סגנון. מאן סבור, כי כאן רמז לכנהדרין ק"א ע"ב: איסור ביטוי שם הויה. יאסטרוב מבאר כמו אנה בשומרונית: גידוף וחירוף. מאן סבור, כי זה ענה ולשון ענה לשון מסטית. ועי' כעת נ. וידר, The Judean Scrolls and Karaism, לונדון, 1962, עמ' 218–249.

75 הכוונה לא ברורה. ייתכן כי נתכוון ללשון שוטפת בנינוד להפסקה ושמא זהו תרגום הערבית „נ'אריה מנ'רי". עי' רייט, כרך ב', עמ' 258; ZMG, עמ' ל"ה שו' 17: ומא נ'רי הדה אלמנ'רי לגלט. מאן, עמ' 444: לא ברורה, ומשער, כי הכוונה לאתנחתא לשם נגינה.

76 כלומר טעם מפסיק. עי' ריב"ג, הרקמה, עמ' ע"ג שו' 17 והערה 16 (מ"מ לשימוש במלה עבד); י. קאפח, תרביץ, ל"א (תשכ"ב), עמ' 371–376.

77 דוא משתמש לתנועות בעיקר במונח זה „מלך מלוך" א' שו' 10, 23; ב' 12 (פעמים); אף כי השתמש גם במונחים: סימנים שו' 1; מצותה א' שו' 2; ג', שו' 14. עי' דקה"ט, עמ' 34 שו' 5, 12 שלפי באכר דוא הראשון; לפי חיוג': „סבע חרכאת אלמסמאת ענד אהל אלמשרק שבעה מלכים" והכוונה לטבריה ולארץ ישראל. עי' ריב"ג כתאב אלתקריב ואלתסהיל Opuscules פריס 1880 עמ' 274 7 8. פריפיאט דוראן ייחס חידוש מונח זה לראב"ע. עי' מעשה אפוד, עמ' 34, שו' 14. עי' באכר, עמ' 25, הערה 4; 27 והערות 1–2; באכר, ראב"ע, עמ' 61, הערה 1.

78 הדברים המיוחדים לכל תנועה ותנועה בסמיכות ובלא סמיכות, כמו שעשה משה בן אשר.

79 הלשון במקור מנומגמת, ועל כן גם התרגום אינו ברור.

התרגום

א (א, ב)

סדר[53] הסימנים[54]

דע, יצליחך ה׳, כי בידיעת דרכי שבע התנועות[55] שער גדול לידיעת הלשון והדיבור עליהם רחב בגלל התחלפות דרכיהן וריבוי סיבותיהן[56]. ואשר לריבוי סיבותיהן, הרי זה כמו שאמרו הקדמונים[57]: קל וחמור[58], וחזק ורפי[59], וטפל ומוכרת[60],

[טפל על טפל][61], ומוכרת על מוכרת[62], ומנהג עצמו[63], ומנהג תיבות ותולדותיו[64], וסוף פסוק[65]

וגריעותיו[66], וראש עניין [ואמצע עניין] וסוף עניין[67], מלונת שני טעמים

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53 וכך גם בדקה״ט, עמ׳ 1: סדר המקרא; 2: סדר הכתובים; 8: סדר סוד התיבות; 10: סדר סוד התורה; 12: סדר שוא; 15: וזה סדר הנקודות והטעמים; 16: סדר הבטוי של מקרא. ועי׳ בבא בתרא י״ד, ע״ב. המלה נמצאת גם במקרא איוב י׳:כ״ב.

54 = תנועות. נמצא בדקה״ט, עמ׳ 3 שו׳ 5–4 פלמטה: ״עור דרך הסימנים / כחילים הם מזינים / כשרפים שירה עונים / ובמלאכתם משמאילים ומימינים״. ועי׳ באכר. Anfaenge. עמ׳ 25 26; ועי׳ גם שם, עמ׳ 4 בהוראת אותיות; PGT, עמ׳ 93–95 לא בהוראת תנועה.

55 תנועות. עי׳ מבוא, פרק המחבר ופרק המונחים. אלמצותאת, שו׳ 1, 9 ועוד. רשימת המונחים הקראית, עמ׳ 325–327; הנ״ל, קריית־ספר, ל״ח (תשכ״ג), עמ׳ 118–121; אברמסון, לשוננו, כ״ו (תשכ״ב), עמ׳ 24–27; תשובתי, שם, עמ׳ 269–272; ש. מורג, שם שם, עמ׳ 273–278.

56 עי׳ דקה״ט, עמ׳ 34 שו׳ אחדונה; 16 שו׳ 15; 28 שו׳ 6; פרק המונחים. מונח זה בספרות הבלשנות טעון בירור מיוחד.

57 צא ודוק שכבר בימיו קדמונים היו ולכל הפחות מאה שנים. ועי׳ מבוא. זמן החיבור והמחבר.

58 תנועה קלה ותנועה כבדה לפי ביאורו של אבא בנדויד. לשוננו, כ״ב (תשי״ח) עמ׳ 22 הערה 53. ובמסורה עי׳ אכלה ואכלה, עמ׳ 40, 118; שטראק, מבוא לתלמוד, ל״ב מדות, עמ׳ 94–96; סאן, עמ׳ 443, רשימת המונחים הקראית, עמ׳ 361.

59 עי׳ מסורה גדולה, עמ׳ 3, 5, 11; מחברת, עמ׳ 6; באכר, עמ׳ 12, 109 ועוד; רשימת המונחים הקראית, 356; BGT, פפחה; PGT, עמ׳ 52, 130; דקה״ט, עמ׳ 43–44; ספר יצירה משנה ב׳: ״שבע כפולות בנך כפת מתנהגות בשתי לשונות . . . רך וקשה נבור וחלש״.

60 הכוונה לספיסות ונפרד. עי׳ BGT, עמ׳ 1129, 1134, 1138; באכר, עמ׳ 12, 37, 110, 113; PGT, עמ׳ 85–93; מאן, עמ׳ 443; קלאר, עמ׳ 269 שו׳ 26. טפל כתרגום אצאפה בערבית יש ב.כתאב אלסבעין לפטה׳ לרס״ג ערך 19; אלאצול לריב״ן, ערך טפל; דונש, עמ׳ 6: הסמוכים והטפלים. – מוכרת, מונח זה נראה רק כניגוד למונח טפל – דבק, כלומר כרות, חתוך, נפרד.

61 הוספתי על סמך הנמצא בארבעה מחשבת כה״י של רשימת המונחים הקראית: ספוך לספוך ועי׳ בקודם. בדקה״ט, עמ׳ 60. סעיף 71. יש טפל. דונמה: פרי גדל לבב טלך אשור (ישעיה י׳:י״ב).

62 דונמה: ארץ ארץ ארץ (ירמיה כ״ב:כ״ט) – עי׳ דקה״ט, עמ׳ 36–37 ס״ו 37–39.

63 בערבית: קאים בדאתה = עומד ברשות עצמו, בלתי תלוי, והכוונה לשם העצם. עי׳ דקה״ט. עמ׳ 36. סעיף 36: ״הוא עומד בנפשו״ ועי׳ ההקדמה לתשובות דונש בן לבראט על מנחם: ״הנהגים נפשותם״. ועי׳ רשימת מונחים, עמ׳ 359; אלמצותאת שו׳ 128 והערה 261.

64 הכוונה לכל הפלים האחרות הבאות לתאר את שם העצם. מ״ט עי׳ בקודם.

65 שתי נקודות בין פסוק לפסוק. ועי׳ הרב י. קאפח, תרביץ, ל״א (תשכ״ב), עמ׳ 373.

66 עי״ש שבו סביא הרב קאפח כי יש פקופות שאין בהם הנקודות ובכל זאת חושבים אותם לסוף פסוק, כגון: איוב נ׳:ה׳: וצלמות: ל״ד:י׳: שמעו לי; כ״ד:ט״ו: נשף.

67 מונחים לא ברורים – שמא נתכוון לאותיות השיכוש? תינאן, עמ׳ 338–339; סאן, עמ׳ 444.

הָרַע ועשה הָרַע על הָרַע וטוב ורע לא אֵרַע לך ולא אֵרַע[52] לכם
מפעול וכדלך אלגלבה וְרַע העם ויתקעו רָע הָרָע דכל פי באב גיר
מצאף
מַרַע מקשיב חנף ומרע דכל פי באב גיר מצאף טוב ברע
כי ברע הוא וידברו ברע עשק ורשעים מלאו רָע כל עשה
רָע לעשות רָע ולא תעשה רָע בעיני סרני פלשתים כל שרף
לסאן חיואן קמ לאנה גיר מצאף נחש שָׂרף עשה לך שָׂרף
וכדלך אלמלאיכה שרפים עמדים וכל אחתראק פת לאנה
מצאף אשר שרַף ליי ושרַף במו אש ושרַף באֵש ושרף אשֵירה
ועִפַּר בָּעָפָר כל עפר הארץ חתַן דָמים חתָן ובניך ובנותיך

52 מלה זו בכה"י בשולים וליד לכם עיגול, כסימון טעון השלמה.

ארַם דמשק ארַם נהרים ארַם צובה ארַם בית רחוב וכל גיר מצ̇אף
קמ̇ מת̇ל ארָם מן ארָם ארָם מקדם. כל לשון חדש ג̇דיד פת̇ חדשים
מקרוב חדשים לבקרים: וכל חדשים קמ̇ שנים חָדָשים: כל
תובַל מצ̇אף [פת̇][42] תובל קין תובל למלך יובל שי ואד̇א אנפצל[43] קמץ
ושמן
למצרים יובָל ויוון ותובָל גם אותו לאשור יובָל נעזב בית האלהים
נָוֶה משולח ונעזָב לחיק משולח בונעזב לאנה שי ואחד פי
אלמעני בעת ההיא יובל שי לייי יובילו שי למורא לאִשַּׁי ריח
ניחוח ואלמנפצלין קמ̇ לך יובילו מלכים שָׁי בָית לבָית הבָית
מנפצלין וכד̇לך אלאתנ ו̇יבן לו בָית והנה השק על בשרו מבית(ו)[44]
וכל שָׁק בשָׁק מנפצלין לבושי שָׁק ושַׁק ואפר ושַׁק ואפר̇ ויָשׁ̇ם
שק על מתניו אָבַל תירוש אָבַל עליו אָבַל אומללה̇ ואבל כל
יושב בה. ויהלך אט ראפי[45] דכ̇ל פי באב מפעול דרכו
שמרתי ולא אָט מן באב פאעל איי אעדיל[46] ואט אליו אכיל
מסתאניף וַאַט את ידי עליך מן באב פאעיל אוג̇בת אלפעל וָ
ואצ̇אפתה[47] אַט באָת ידי יָשַׁב לסאן סכאן כו̇ל[48] ידכ̇ל פי
באב מצ̇אף ישַׁב בארץ כנען כי ישב המלך ואת̇נין לסאן
רג̇עה קמ̇ לאן אלת̇אניה לדנהא פי אוֹל חרף ישָׁב נא עבדך
ישָׁב נָא אפך לסאן סכנא קמ̇ לאנֹהם סו̇ פסו̇ ואת̇ פא[נפ]צלו[49]
בעליו יָשָׁב. ובמושַׁב לצים לא ישב ייי למבול יָשַׁב והוכן
בחסד והוכָן הסוכך והכן והניחה שם גם הוא למלך הוכַן
רע פת̇ כל מן באב מופצ̇[50] [בקמ̇][51] רָע מנעוריו יגמר נא רַע או
רע בטוב יאמרו רע לעשות רע לפניך כד̇לך הָרַע ויעש

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42 השלמתי לפי העניין.
43 בכה"י נקודות וגם קוים מעל לאותיות: פ̇, צ̇.
44 הויו בכה"י יתירה, כמו לעיל ד', שו' 7, 27.
45 נראה בעיני שיבוש, וצ"ל: פת פידכל, כלומר שיבוש וחלוקת מלים בלתי נכונה. ושמא צ"ל: ראפי[ק] = רפיק.
46 וצ"ל: אעדל, ובכה"י כתיב מלא ביוד.
47 בכה"י לא ברורה האות האחרונה.
48 צ"ל: כולה ואף כאן שיבוש וכתיב מלא.
49 צ"ל: פאנפצלו, ואילו בכה"י נראה רק שריד הבא.
50 מסתבר בעיני, כי זהו משובש מן מנפצל. ועי' בקודם.
51 השלמתי על פי העניין.

וכדֹלך ואתה משמים תשמָע וכרחמיך אנפצל באנקצֹא
אלטלבה ואתה משמים תשמע ותצילם כרחמיך אלאוֹל אנפ[צל]
באלזקף לאנֹהא תנפצל[35] פצל צגיר ולא כל אלמואצֹע וסנב[תדי]
פי פֹן אללחון[36]: וכדֹלך ריבה ייי את יריבי להם את לחמי
מתֹל מנערי ומנערָי תוצל[37] באלדֹי בעדה. עדת בני ישרֹ
עדת דבורים מעדת ישרֹ כֹאלפה אלארמאני וריח נור לא עדָת
מלכותא עדָת מנך ואנמא דֹכרנא אלארמאני לאנֹה שאכלה
פי תלפֹטֹה מָים בקמֹ נחלי מָים אפיקי מָים בין מים
למָים ויהי למָים מנפצלין לאן אלזקף תפצל מתֹל סוֹ פסוֹ לדֹלך
כל אתֹ וסוֹ פסוֹ מָים ואלאהֹנין אלמכֹאלפין ושם מדבר לאגם
מים ארץ לא שבעה מים אתֹצלו במא בעדהם גַד
פי באב מפֹעול פתֹ כזרע גַד כזרע גַד הערכים לגד
ולו קיל בקמֹ כֹרגֹ אלי באב פאעל וצאר אסם אנס[א]ן בא
גָד גָד הנביא יצחַק לי ויצַחֵק לפניהם ויהי כמצחֵק בעינ[י]
דתנו ימי יצחק ויצחק יוֹשֵב בשמים ישֹחָק ייי ישֹחַק לי
ישחק לפחד כל חָרְבות כֹראב דיאר קמֹ ונבנה חָרָבות
בחרבות הולכים כשועלים בחָרבות כחָרבות מעולם כדֹלך
יכֹרגֹ כל וכל חיראב[38] יכֹרגֹ פתֹ חַרבות שניו עם חַרבותיהֶם
וכתתו חרבותם חרבותיהם חרבות צורים ובחרבות וברמחים.
[וא]דֹא כאן אסם קריה או עלי אלפראד קיל בקמֹ צגירו[39]
אשר ירושלם חרֵיבה טוב פַת חרֵבה וכל מנחה בלולה בשמן
וחרֵיבה מן גֹפאף ואלכֹראב עלי אלפראד קמֹ העיר הזאת
חרֵבה: כל לסאן מכֹאפיף פתֹ העורים והפסחים כאשר
ימשש העור ויכתב(ו) בואו וכל לסאן עבראניין קמֹ ויכ[תב]

ה (ג, ב)

בביתי אלהי העברים העברים[40] שלחני אלתים[41] כל ארם מצֹאף [פתֹ]
מתֹל

35 בכה"י: תפציל, והתיקון בשולים, ואילו העינול - סימן התיקון בטעות בש' הסמוכה.
36 לא ברורה הכוונה בשני המשפטים האחרונים ואולי יתירות המלים: „ולא . . . אללחון".
37 בכה"י: ותציל? שיבוש וכתיב מלא. 38 כתיב מלא, וצ"ל: חראב.
39 ויו יתירה, כמו לעיל שו' 7 ולהלן ה', שו' 10.
40 יתירה כפל הקודם. מסתבר כי הנסח הוה: בבי (בית) מתֹל וכך תורגם: או: בבי ייי
41 בכה"י מעל לשורה: ש, ושיבוש הפסוק: שלחני אליך.

אלקול פי תֶן־ תֶן לִי הנֹפש עתה חכמֶה ומדֹע תֶן־לי פאן כאן בינהא
נקט קֹרי בתֹנתין מתֹל תֵן להם יי׳ ודֹלך אלעלֹה אלמצותה אלדֹי בינהא
וכל אלקראן עלי הדֹא יגֹרי מא כֹלא אתֹנין תכֹאלף פאן בינהא נקט והי
בגֹ נקט אלואחד תֶן־לָהֶם כפעלם ואלאכֹר קַח את הֹמחתה וְתֶן־עֹליה אשׁ
וכל מא לם יכן מֻלְחַק במקף מן הדֹא אלגֹנס כלה פהו אבדא בתֹנתין
פליס תחתאגֹ אעיד אלכלאם ~~פיהא~~ פי כל מוצֹע> אלקול פי עַד>
כל עַד בתֹנתין תפסירה שאהד מתֹל עֵד שָקֶר עֵד אֶמֶת עַד כֻזבים
כלֹהא וכלֹ מא כאן תפסירה אלדהר ואלאבד פהו פתח מתֹל לעולֶם
וָעֶד וכל
מא שאבהה ואלשאהד בתֹנתין מתֹל היודֶע וָעֶד וליס לנא שֶש
אלא ואחד שֶש־הֵנה ואנת תערף עלֹתה ממא תקו[דֹם ו]קד כנא
אסתתמנא אלכלאם פי אלגֹז אלאוֹל פי אלאלפאטֹ אלמרכֹבה מן חרפין
חרפין פי ~~כמיה~~[26] כיפיה נקטהא ועללה ואסתופינא פיהא אלקול
ען אכֹרהא. ונחן בעון אלרחמן נרוס אלכלאם פי הדֹא אלבאב
פי מא כאן מן אלאלפאטֹ מרכֹב מן גֹ אחרף ואוֹל מא נבתדי בה
מן דֹלך באב אַפְעל והו באב אלאמר. ואלק[ול] אלאוֹל מנה תחת
אלחרף

ד (ג, א)

וכל אתֹנ וסוֹ פסוֹ מתֹל מא כֹלא אלדֹ אלמוצופה[27] רגעי ארץ והם
כל מתֹצֹלין כל טוֹב בטוֹב כטוב לטוב[28] קאים בדֹאתה גיר
מצֹאף כקולך טוב יי׳ טוב אתה כטוב לבם נפשו בטוב תלין
ומא שבהה וכל טוב מצֹ[29] וכל טוב דמשק[30] ל(א)ראות[31] בטוב יי כדֹלך
יכֹרגֹ אלי יי׳ ומא שבהה הללויה הללו את יי׳ מן השמים פתֹ
לאתֹצאלה במרומים פלמא אפצל אלבֹ אלקמֹ[32] הללוהו שמֵי השָמָים
אנפצל[33] בה(ו)[34] מים וכדֹלך כל אתֹנ וסוֹ פסוֹ לתפצלהא ללמעאני

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26 בכה״י נמחקה מלה זו (=כמות) בקו באמצע, כי טעה המעתיק.
27 לא ברורה כוונת המלה ושמא צ״ל: אלמנפצלה.
28 בכה״י: בטוב, אולם כבר נזכרה צורה זו, ותיקנתי.
29 אף כאן קיצור מן מצרים.
30 מלה זו רשומה בכה״י בגליון. 31 בכה״י שיבוש: אלף יתירה.
32 נדמה, כי שלש המלים האחרות יש לקרוא: אנפצל קמ׳, והיתר מיותר.
33 בכה״י אפצל ועינול על הפא, ובשולים: אנפצל.
34 אף כאן אות יתירה הויו והנקודה ממעל לה רומזת למחיקה.

בתנתין לאנהא מצאפה והי הדה שה כשבים ושה עזים שה עלתיך
ומא כאן גיר מצאף פהו בג נקט מתל ושור או שה משור עד שה°
פאן קאל קאיל לך אנא נגד שה נקד וכל שה חום (שה בריה)[20]
שה בריה שה רזה נגדהא מצאפה והי תקרא בפתח. פאן אלדי
יקול הדא לא יערף חד אלמצאף אי שי הו פי לגה אלעבראני ודלך
אן אלמצאף ענדהם מא כאן מצאף אלי גירה ומנסוב אליה כנסבה אלנוע
אלי אלגנס ונסבה אלשכץ אלי אלנוע ומן אלמעלום אן קולנא שה הו שכץ
ואדא נסבנאה אלי כבשים פקד נסבנא שכץ אלי נועה והדא אלאצאפה
אלצחיחה ואמא שה חום פלים אלחום שי גיר אלשה בל צפה לון

ג (ב, ב)

וכדלוך ושה בריה ושה רזה צפה ערץ עארץ פיה[21]
(עארץ פיה) מן הזל וסמן פאי גיר הנא[22] חתי נקול אנה מצאף אליה
פקד בינת לך אלפרק בינהומא[23] אלקול פי עת־ הו מתל
אלקול פי לך סוא עלי הדא אלמתאל לא עת בוא עת בית יי וכל
מא כאן
בינהם שי מן אלנקט קרי בתנתין מתל ועת צרה היא ליעקב וכל מאו[24]
שאכלה
מא כלא ואחד פאן בינהם נקט והו בג והו טריף[25] בלא עת נדתה
ואחד אכר שלם וכל וכעת ובעת פי אלמקרא בקמץ קטן
וכדלך כל מנפצל בלא מקף בתנתין אבדא. אלקול פי כן. מתל מא
תקדם סוא גם עתה כדבריכם כן־הוא הנה זאת חקרנוה כן־היא
פאן כאן בינהא שי מן אלנקט תקרא בתנתין מתל כן צדקה לחיים
גיר אן ההנא ג תפסר עלי הדא אלקאנון איצ והי הדה כמות זה כן־
מות זה כן־איש רכה את רעהו כן־איש נדד ממקומו: וכדלך

20 שורה זו כתובה בכה"י בשולים.
21 שורה זו כתובה כולה בשולים לפעלה ושתי המלים האחרונות בה חוזרות בשורה הסמוכה.
22 דרך קיצור נקט: פאי [ש"] גיר [אלשה] הנא. תודתי לי. בלאו שפתר חידה זו.
23 בכה"י הסים לא ברורה.
24 השלמתי על פי הענין. סעניין כי השלפה זו היא כמו בשורה הקודמת לה כמו שיש מקרה דומה בשו ו 2 בעמוד יד. כפתבר בעיני. כי הכלה האחרונה סיכן מחיקה עליה (קו) ויש להשמיטה ומכילא לא יהא צורך להשלים מאומה.
25 צ"ל טרף והכוונה טרף אריכאן תואר הפועל לזכן. ועי' אלספצל. עמ' 25: רייט כרך ב'. כפתח.

מעאניה בל בי̈ין בעצ̇ה ותרך בעצ̇ה פצאר לא יתחצ̈ל ללמתעל̈ם מנה אלפאידה מנה עלי אלתמאם אעני אן הו קצד אן יתעל̈ם מנה שרוט אלשוא מת̇לא וקואנינה ואצל בנייתה לם יג̇ד מן ד̇לך פיה אלא שי גיר כאפי וכד̇לך פי שרוט אל י̇ אחרף לא יג̇דהא תאמ̈ה וכד̇לך למא בלג אלי אלכלאם פי אלז׳ מלוך תכ̈לם פי ד̇לך עלי אלבעץ̇ וקטע ליס נקול אן ד̇לך כאן תקציר מנה בל קד כאן אבלג ואקוא מן אן יתוה̈ם ד̇לך עליה ואנ̈מא הרב מן אלתטויל לילא יתקל עלי אלקארי פאכ̇תצר: ואנ̈מא קדמת הד̇א אלקול לתקף עליה ותעלם אן אלבאב אלאו̈ל אלד̇י תכ̈למנא פיה פי עלל אלשוא ואלי̇ אחרף אנ̈מא הו מדכ̇ל אלי הד̇א אלבאב ומקדמה

ב (ב, א)

גיר ואחד פאחפט̇ה והד̇א הו וְשֶׁן־בהמות̇ אשלח בֹּם>

אלקול פי הֵן: אן כנת קד פהמת מא קאלוה̈[17] פי יֵש וג̇מיע מא תקד̈ם פליס תחתאג̇ פי מא בקי אלי שרח כת̇יר וד̇לך אן אלחאל פי ג̇מיע הד̇ה אלכלם אלד̇י מן חרפין חרפין קריב מן קריב וכד̇לך אלקול פי הֶן אלד̇י יקרא מנהא בפתח הֶ פאן שית פאחפט̇הא והד̇ה הי הֶן עָם̇ כלבִיא יקוֹם הֶן עם לבדד ישכון הֶן־הוא משוֹש דרכֹו הֶן תָּוִי שדֵי הֶן זֹאת לא צדֵקת וכל דסמיכ̇ להד̇ה אלארבעה אלפאט̇ מת̇להא יקרא פתח והי כָּל כל אֵל אֵלֶה מת̇ל הֶן כל־אֵלה הֶן־כל הֶן־אֵל שְׁגיא הֶן אֵלה | קצֹות: אלקול פי לֵך גֻמלה[18]: כל לֶך־ פי אלמקרא במקף פהו בג̇ נקט יקרא גיר ואחד לֵך־אל נמלֵה עצֵל וליס יעסר עליך תעל̈ם אלעל̈ה פי ד̇לך לאנ̈ה בעיד ען אלטעם ובינהם נקט ומלוך ומא לם יכן בינהא מלך קֻרי בג̇ נֻקַט מת̇ל לֶך־לְךָ מארצךָ וְלֶך־לְךָ אֶל־אֶרץ. לֶך־רֵד לֶך בוא̇ ונט׳אירהא וכל מֻנקטע[19] פהו אבדא בת̇נתין וכל מא לם יכן מלחק.>

אלקול פי שֶׂה: כל שֶׂה במקרא יקרא בג̇ נקט סוא ד̇ תקרא בת̇נתין ואלארבעה מנהא ואחד יכתב באלף והו שֶׂא אֵזֵל אֵחֵת המֹו ותפסירה אחמל ישתק̈ מן שֶׂא שְׂאוּ יִשָּׂא ואלג̇ אלאכ̇ר ג̇עלת

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17 בכה״י סימן משולש על ההא (עי׳ מבוא), ומעניין הדגש בהא = מפיק.

18 מסתבר בעיני, כי זהו שיבוש וצ״ל: לך [אל] נמלה או המלה ג̇מלה יתירה וכך יתירגם. ועי׳ בשו׳ הסמוכה: „לך אל״ ואילו „נמלה״ בשו׳ 11.

19 שתי המלים יתירות הן ועי׳ תרגום והערה 111. וזהו הקו מעל למלה השנייה. ויש להעיר כי המונח „מנקטע״ נמצא גם ZMG, עמ׳ י״ב, שו׳ 15.

המקור

א (א, ב)

[ס]דר הסימנים

[א]עלם אסעדך אלד̇ אן מערפה טרק אלז̇ מצו̇̈תאת באב כביר מן עלם אללגה ואלכלאם פיהא ואסע לאכ̇תלאף טרקהא וכת̇רה עללהא פאמא כת̇רה [עללה]א פכמא ק[אלו] אלקדמא. קַל וְחָמור וְ[חָזָ]ק[9] ורָפֵי וטָפֵל ומוכרָת[10]

ומוכרת על מוכרת ומְנַה[ג ע]צמו ומְנַהג תיבות ותולדותיו[11] וסוף פסוק [וגריעותיו] וראש עיניין [ואמצע עיניי]ן וסוף עיניין ומְלֻונַת שנֵי טעמים שהן מַתְמִימים עיניי[נם וראש לכל דבר וסוף לכל] דבר ועתיד ועבר ומיודע ומנוכר

וגָבוּר ותָמוּה ותָמוּה [שנעשה גבור ו]גָבור שנעשה תמוה ולשון זכר ולשון נקבה ולשון בָרו[ר ולשון עגה] והוֹלֵך כַמִנְהַג ומַעַמִידוֹ טַעְמוֹ:

כל הד̇ה אלעיון אלד̇י [תוצל ות]ֻפצל[12] באלז̇ מלוך וכל ואחד מנהא תכ̇ל̇מו פיה כלאם כ̇אץ̇ [ומעאני[13]] מכ̇תלפה גיר מתשאבהה ולם נג̇ד להם[14] הד̇ה אלמעאני מש[תרכה פי][15] כ[ת]אב עלי אלתמאם בל מפרקה פי כתב

כת̇יר לטול אלכלאם פיהא ומא יחתאג̇ אליה מן סעה אלשרח וקד כאן משה ברבי אשר רחמה אלד̇ עמל כתאב כביר ותצ̇מ̇ן פי מקדמתה אנה יביין ג̇מיע הד̇ה אלאשיא פאוסע פיה אלכלאם וענד תחצילנא מא קאלה

פי ד̇לך אלכתאב עלי כת̇רה מא תכ̇ל̇ם פיה לם נג̇דה אסתקצא ג̇מיע מא צ̇מנה צדר אלכתאב ולא נקצאן באבין וג̇ וד̇ וה̇ בל אנ̇מא חצל מנה אלאקל̇ ובקי אלאכת̇ר ואלקליל איצ̇[16] אלד̇י פס̇רה פיה לם יסתופי

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9 ההשלמות בשורות 4–9 הן על יסוד כה"י של רשימת המונחים הקראית.

10 חסר „טפל על טפל", כפי שמוכיחים כה"י. עי' רשימת המונחים, עמ' 341–342.

11 ליד הויו עיניל ובשירים: ותירדות; בכ"י אוקספורד: מנהג תיבות ותולדותיו ותולדות תולדותיו; וייתכן כי המניה ביקש לתקן כנוסח זה. עי' רשימת המונחים, עמ' 359.

12 ואולי יש להשלים: ותנפצל. ב„כתאב אלמצותאת": „תפצל". עי' אלוני, שו' 86, 106.

13 השלמתי.

14 מסתבר כי הכוונה לדרכי התנועות והסיבות להן. עי' מבוא.

15 נראית גם מחצית של התיו.

16 בצורה מקוצרת, במקום: איצא.

הסימנים" מאותה כת הקראים שלה נשתייך משה בן אשר, ועל כן יחסו אליו שונה מיחס ריב"ג, שאינו מזכירו בשמו ואף לועג לדבריו[8].

ט. ה ע ר כ ה. לקטע זה בחיבור "סדר הסימנים" תהיה חשיבות רבה שנים רבות בגלל הידיעות שסיפק לנו על משה בן אשר וחיבורו בדקדוק המסורה והביקורת עליו. בעזרתו נתגלו דברים חשובים על שני חיבורים בדקדוק המסורה: "כתאב אלמצותאת" ו"סדר הסימנים". חיבורנו היה אחד החיבורים העשירים ביותר בחומר מסורה, ומכיון שדן בחומר זה מבחינת הדקדוק היה בו חומר עשיר מאד לתולדות המבטא של הלשון ולתולדות הדקדוק ואוצר מונחי הדקדוק. אין ספק שבין קטעי הגניזה יתגלו במשך הזמן דפים נוספים מחיבורנו, ובאחד הימים יעלה בידנו לשחזר חיבורנו זה בשלימות או בחלקו המכריע וילמדנו פרשיות רבות שנשארו מעורפלות בשבילנו עד היום.

25/10/1957. ועל אחת כמה וכמה קשה להסכים לדיבור המכריע, כי הקראים לא עסקו במקרא בכלל, כפי שכבר ד"ר מ. צוקר ואף מייחס זאת לרס"ג: "הקראים אף אחד מהם לא עסק בשכירת (נוסחת) המקרא ובירורו ולא בחסירות ויתרות ולא בצורת החיבות ודקדוקו". ע' משה צוקר. תרביץ כ"ז (תשי"ח), עמ' 70. האחרון לא ידע, כי הדברים של המסורה ב.אשא טשלי" הם בעיקרם מובאה כלשונה מרשימת מונחים קראית וביקש לפרשם כדברי רס"ג עצמו.

8 כתאב אלתקריב ואלתסהיל, מהדורת דירנבורג, Opuscules. פריס, 1880, עמ' 341 וריב"ג מכנה דבריו "דברי הזיות של חולי ריאות", שבגלל החום הם חולמים חלומות שוא. ומודה אני, כי איני מבין דברי אברמסון, לשוננו, כ"ו (תשכ"ב), עמ' 24 הערה 3. ועי' דחי ערך ברסס.

להלן מובאים הערכים של המסורה הנדונים בקטע לשם הסברתם על סמך ספרות המסורה.

ז. המונחים. עניין מיוחד מעוררים מונחי הדקדוק בקטע זה ומהם שנמצאים בלשון המדקדקים הידועים לנו, אולם יש גם מונחים מעטים הטעונים בירור, ואלה הם בערבית: מסתאנף, מצותה, עלל, קאים בדאתה; ובעברית: גבור ותמוה, מנהג עצמו ומנהג תיבות, ראש דבר וסוף דבר, ראש עניין, אמצע עניין וסוף עניין. המונח החשוב „מצותה – מצותאת" כבר נידון במיוחד במקומות אחרים. יתר המונחים נידונים כל אחד במקומו. אולם ראוי לתשומת לב שכל אוצר המונחים הזה נמצא בדף אחד של „כתאב אלמצותאת" למשה בן אשר וברשימת המונחים הקראית הקשורה במשפחת בן אשר.

ברור הוא, כי טרמינולוגיה זו לא נתחדשה על־ידי מחבר „סדר הסימנים" אלא קיבלה מאבותיו ומרבותיו ממשפחת בן אשר. חלק ממונחים אלה אנו מוצאים גם בחיבור „כתאב אלמצותאת" למשה בן אשר, וביניהם המונחים: וגב (מוגב), וצל (תוצל), מסתאנף, מצאף וגיר מצאף, פעל (פאעל, מפעול), פצל (תפצל) ומשה בן אשר כבר הרשה לעצמו לא לדון בכמה עניינים, מאחר שכבר נדונו על־ידי קודמיו והם ידועים. מחבר „סדר הסימנים" גם הביא מחצית מרשימת המונחים הקראית, והמונחים הם עברים, ואומר: „וכבר אמרו הקדמונים".

ח. היחס למשה בן אשר. דרך קיצורו של משה בן אשר וביאוריו הבלתי מספיקים בעניינים הנדונים הם הם שגרמו למחבר לכתיבת חיבורו החדש והוא פי ארבעה בהיקפו.

רובו של העמוד בדף א׳ (שו׳ 10–27) מוקדש לביקורת החיבור „כתאב אלמצותאת" למשה בן אשר והוא מעניין מאד וחשוב מאד. עיקר טענתו הוא שחיבורו כתוב בקיצור רב והקיצור מכביד על הבנת העניין ואף לא ניתן בו הסבר מספיק לעניין. לדוגמה הוא מביא את הפרקים על השוא ועשר האותיות והתנועות: „המתלמד . . . כי ילמד ממנו כללי השוא למשל וחוקיו ויסוד בניינו לא ימצא זאת בו אלא דבר בלתי מספיק. וכן עניין כללי עשר האותיות לא ימצאם בשלימות, וכך כאשר הגיע לדיון בעניין שבע התנועות (במלכים) דיבר עליהם במקצת והפסיק". יש לשים לב, כי טענתו היא על ליקויים בדיון בענייני ניקוד ולא בענייני מסורה.

יחד עם זאת הוא מתייחס בכבוד רב לרבי משה בן אשר והוא מהללו ומשבחו: „איננו אומרים כי זה (חסרונו של החיבור) היה קוצר יד מצדו, אדרבא היה המליץ הגדול ביותר והאיש החזק ביותר מכדי שאפשר יהיה להאשימו בזאת. אולם ברח מן האריכות כדי שלא יכביד על הקורא, ועל כן קיצר". מכאן אנו למדים מה רב היה כבודו של משה בן אשר בין בני הדורות הסמוכים לו[7]. מסתבר, כי היה מחבר „סדר

[7] ומשה להסכים לדיבור: „פרסומו של בן אשר בעל המסורה נתפשט רק בדורות שלאחריו ואילו בחיבורי בני דורו אין לו זכר כלל׳ (דותן סיני מ״א (תשי״ז) עמ׳ שנ״ב). ועי׳ „הארץ׳ מיום

ט. מלה ופועל: אַט – לְאַט.

י. מלה ושם: עֵד – וָעֶד.

ויש שהוא רושם מלה אחת בלא שינויים בה כלל וכלל לשם קביעת צורתה בכתב:

א. מלה בלא ציון העניין והניקוד: „אבל", „הוכן". מסתבר, כי נתכוון לקבוע את הפתח במלים אלה.

ב. מלה אחת בלבד: „לחמי". מסתבר, כי הביא מלה זו כדי לקבוע את הקמץ במים בהפסק.

השימוש במונחי דקדוק בטעות. הוא משתמש במונחי הדקדוק בצורה רופפת מאד: מצֹאף – גיר מצֹאף; פאעל – מפעול; ואין זה נראה כלל וכלל, כי השימוש הוא במקום הנכון והמתאים. כך יכול היה לומר סמוך גם לפועל ישב. אט (נטה), שרף.

יש להסב את תשומת הלב לשימוש במלה „קמץ" לקמץ גדול ולקמץ קטן ולקמץ חטוף גם יחד כפי שמוכיחים דבריו בערכים: חרבה, חרבות, חדשים, ישב. עוד יותר מוזרים דבריו כשהוא בא לנמק ניקודה של מלה.

א) המלה „הן" מנוקדת בסגול כשהיא סמוכה למלים: כל, אל, אלה, כאילו אי אפשר לכלול את כולן בנוסחה אחת.

ב) גַּד בפתח – פעול; וגָד בקמץ – פועל.

ג) בולט הוא הערבוב והבלבול במלה „אט", שהוא מציין האחד כפועל (מנוקד בקמץ) והשני כעתיד והשלישי שהוא עתיד מהופך לעבר כסמוך למלת היחס (ואט את ידי).

ד) ציון מלים שונות בכתיב ושונות בניקוד ובהוראותיהן: „שרף – נחש", כי הוא נפרד; ואילו „שרף שריפה" הוא בפתח, כי הוא סמוך; כאילו היתה זו אותה מלה.

ולעומת חסרונות מעטים אלה יש לציין את ההשתדלות לבאר את השינויים בניקוד בעזרת כללי הדקדוק והוא יודע:

א) חלוקת הדיבור לשלושת חלקיו: אסם פעל וחרוף. אף הוא מזכיר את המונח „טֹריף" (ג', שו' 6) והכוונה למלה „עת", שהיא „טֹרף אלזמאן" (=מלת השימוש לזמן).

ב) נפרד וסמוך (מצֹאף וגיר מצֹאף). הוא מרבה להשתמש במונחים אלה לשם הסברת שינויי הניקוד במלים. לעתים הוא מציין זאת בשימוש ב„מקף" שהוא סימן חיבור בין המלים.

ג) הזמנים השונים בפועל עבר, עתיד (מסתאנף) וציווי, ויסוד הפועל הוא הצווי.

ד) השפעת סמיכות הנגינה על שינוי הניקוד. השינוי במלים בנות שתי אותיות מצירי לסגול בא כשיש מרחק בינה למלה שבה נמצא טעם הנגינה, כגון: לך, עת, כן, תן. ההסבר למלה האחרונה שהיא מנוקדת בצירי, כי בינה ובין הטעם מפרידה הברה אחת: תן להם. וכך גם הסברו בערך „ישב" כשהיא סמוכה למלה „נא".

ה) השפעת ההפסק (סוף פסוק ואתנחתא) על שינוי הניקוד.

אנשי דקדוק המסורה. למשל יובא דיונו על הסמיכות בערך שה. המסורה התעניינה בקביעת הנוסח והיא חיברה בערך „שה" את המלים המנוקדות בין השרשים של שתי המלים ואף לא הבדילה בין הוראותיהן השונות ולא באותיותיהן השונות (הא ואלף), כי העיקר היה לה הצד המשותף ביניהן הניקוד (הצירי!). אנשי דקדוק המסורה שבאו להסביר את המסורה בעזרת הדקדוק נתוכחו ביניהם על הבדל בין שה כבשים ושה עזים לשה חום ושה רזה ושה בריה, שהיו ביניהם שטענו כי כולם סמיכות. מחברנו בא להסביר, כי הסמיכות היא רק בין שם עצם לשם עצם ולא בין שם לתואר. אולם אף ביאורו הוא בדרך פרימיטיבית מאד ומאריך דברים בעניינים פשוטים ודן על מין וסוג מצד אחד ועל מקרה מצד שני.

ו. שיטת המחבר בדקדוק המסורה. למחבר חיבור זה בדקדוק המסורה היתה שיטה ערוכה מראש ובניין ערוך ומסודר לחיבור. החיבור פתח בהקדמה ובמבוא והוא מרצה את ענייניו בסדר והוא כנראה אף סיים בדברי סיום שאינם בידנו (אין לנו רמז לו).

שיטת השרשים היא זו ששררה במחנה העברים לפני שיטת חיוג: שרשים בני שתי אותיות ובני שלוש אותיות. רק האות הקיימת בכל הנטיות היא אות שורש.

ובענייני מסורה רב הבלבול. דברי דקדוק ודברי ניקוד באים מעורבים בדברי מסורה. ומונחי הדקדוק אין השימוש בהם ברור ובהיר.

בדיון על המסורה של המלים נרשמים השינויים של המלה ורבות המלים שהן מאותו שורש ואותה הוראה והשינוי הוא בניקוד בלבד. רוב הערכים הוא מסוג זה: שן, שש, לך, תן, יש, עת, כן, ארץ, שמים, מים, לוחמי, מנערי, בית, שק, אבל, כן (הוכן), עפר וחתן.

אולם לעתים אין הבדל בעיניו, אם זה שם, פועל או מלה והוא מצרף מלים מלשונות שונות במקרא ובנייני פועל שונים וזמנים שונים ושמות עצם יחד עם שמות עצם פרטיים, והריהם לפי צירופיהם:

א. לשונות שונות (עברית וארמית): שֶׂה–שֵׂא; עדַת–עדָת.
ב. שמות ופעלים ומלים בני שורש שונה וכתיב שונה: הָעִבְרִים (עבר) – הַעִוְרִים (עור). אַט (נטה) – אַט (אטט); שַׁי (שם) – אִשַּׁי (אש). יָשַׁב (ישב) – יָשָׁב (שוב).
ג. מלים בנות הוראות שונות: שֵׂא – שֶׂה; גַּד – גָּד; חֲרָבוֹת – חֳרָבוֹת; חֲרֵבָה (חורב ויובש); הַעִוְרִים – הָעִבְרִים; תּוּבַל – תּוּבָל; אַט – לְאַט; שַׁי – אִשַּׁי; שָׂרָף – שָׂרַף (מלאך ושריפה).
ד. שמות עצם שונים: אִשַּׁי – שַׁי; חֲרָבוֹת – חֳרָבוֹת.
ה. שם עצם ושם עצם פרטי: גַּד – גָּד.
ו. שם תואר ושם עצם: חֲרֵבָה – חָרְבָּה; חֲדָשִׁים – חֳדָשִׁים; טוֹב – טוּב.
ז. שם ופועל: שֶׂה – שֵׂא (נשא); תּוּבָל – תּוּבַל; רַע – רָע; שָׂרָף – שָׂרַף.
ח. בניינים שונים: יִצְחַק – יְצַחֵק.

בדף זה דברי סיום לחלק א׳: ״כבר השלמנו הדיבור בחלק הראשון בעניין המלים המורכבות משתי אותיות שתי אותיות באיכות ונקודותיהן וסיבותיהן והשלמנו הדין בהן עד הסוף״.

מתוך המשך הדיבור בסוף דף ב׳ אנו יודעים המשך הכתוב בדף הסמוך שאיננו בידנו, וזו לשון הכתוב: ״ואנחנו בעזרת ה׳ נתחיל הדיבור בשער זה בענין המלים המורכבות משלוש אותיות והדבר הראשון שנתחיל בו הוא שער אפעל והוא שער הציווי״.

דף ג׳ עוסק במלים רבות מבחינת ציון הניקוד ושינויי הניקוד. ואלה הן המלים: ארץ (סיום), טוב, שמים, לחמי, מנערי, עדה, מים, גד, יצחק, חרבות, חרבה, עורים, עברים, ארם, חדשים, יובל־תובל, נעזב, שי, בית, שק, אבל, אט, ישב, הוכן, רע, שרף, עפר, חתן.

לפי עדותו היה הספר מחולק לחלקים („גז״) ולשערים („באב״) ונוכל לרשום את תוכן שני החלקים הראשונים. לא נוכל לפרט אלא מעט מאד מתוכן החיבור על סמך עדותו ותוכן שלושת הדפים שהם ברשותנו:

חלק ראשון (אלגז אלאול) האותיות, התנועות, והמלים בנות שתי אותיות.

א. פתיחה (צדר אלכתאב)
ב. השוא וסיבותיו (באב עלל אלשוא)
ג. עשר האותיות (באב אלי׳ אחרף: איתן בהכלמש או בגד כפ״ת ואהח״ע)
ד. התנועות וסיבותיהן (סדר הסימנים)
ה. המלים בנות שתי אותיות (אלפאט מרכבה חרפין חרפין פי כיפיה נקטהא ועללהא)

חלק שני (אלגז אלתאני): המלים בנות שלוש אותיות:

א. הציווי (באב אלאמר – דף ב׳ ע״ב)
ב. העתיד (באב אלמסתאנף – דף ג׳ ע״ב)
ג. העבר (באב אלמאצי – חסר בכה״י)
ד. הבינוני פועל (באב פאעל – דף ג׳ ע״ב)
ה. בינוני פעול (באב מפעול – דף ג׳ ע״א)

חלק שלישי (אלגז אלתאלת): השמות

א. הסמיכות (באב מצאף וגיר מצאף – דף ג׳ ע״ב)

המחבר נהג להביא דעות אחרים ולבקרן ולהסביר את דעתו בפרוטרוט. מתוך השוואת דיונו של המחבר על ערך אחד בחיבור זה ל״כתאב אלמצותאת״ מותר לשער, כי היה פי ארבעה בהיקפו מהאחרון.

מתוך דיונו בעניני דקדוק כדי לתקן את הליקויים ב״כתאב אלמצותאת״, אנו יכולים לראות עד כמה היו המושגים הפשוטים ביותר בלתי מובנים ובלתי ברורים בין

ד. המחבר. על סמך הדיון בסעיף הקודם על זמן החיבור נוכל להסיק גם על זמנו של המחבר שחי במחצית השנייה של המאה התשיעית ובראשית המאה העשירית, כי לא ידע את חיבורו של אהרן בן אשר ולא ידע את חיבורי רב סעדיה גאון.

המחבר היה איש טבריה, מקומה של משפחת בן אשר, ועל כן ידע את חיבורו של משה בן אשר. והוכחה למקום חייו יכול לשמש המונח „מצותה – מצותאת" לתנועות, שנתייחד לאנשי טבריה והוא משתמש בו בלא להזכיר מקום השימוש בו, ולו היה במקום אחר היה מציין כי מונח זה נקרא כך על־ידי אנשי טבריה, כמו שעושים זאת בעל דקדוק המסורה[5] וריב"ג[6].

מסתבר, כי היה קראי, ואלה הן הראיות:

1) דרך ביקרתו הסלחנית שהוא מבקר את חיבורו של משה בן אשר, ויחס הכבוד וההערצה למשה בן אשר.

2) בראש הפרק של התנועות „סדר הסימנים" מובאת מחצית רשימת המונחים הקראית, שהוכח כי היא קראית ואולי ממשפחת בן אשר במאה השמינית, מאחר שהיא קראית בהשקפותיה ובתכנה.

3) השימוש באוצר המונחים של דקדוק המסורה של משה בן אשר: מצותה, עלה, קאים בדאתה ועוד (עי' פרק המונחים).

ה. התוכן. דף א' ע"א: 1) שש שורות ובהן סיום של דברי מסורה כתובים עברית מנוקדים עם ניקוד וטעמי מקרא. ייתכן, כי לפנינו רשימת ליקוטים של דברי מסורה. אינו מסתבר כי היה זה חלק מ„סדר הסימנים". 2) רשות (פיוט). הפיוט לקוי בשש השורות הראשונות שלו ואין בידינו לתיתן בשלימות. פותח: ארוממך ה' מעוז חיי אגדל פאר[ך . . .]. פיוט זה אינו מהחיבור הנדון והוא רק בבחינת כתיבה, כדי שלא יישאר הנייר חלק.

דף א' ע"ב פרק ב' של החיבור בדקדוק המסורה בכותרת „[ס]דר הסימנים", וכולו מוקדש להקדמת המחבר, ובו מובאה ארוכה מרשימת המונחים הקראית מהמאה השמינית־תשיעית. בקטע נזכרת העובדה שמשה בן אשר כתב חיבור בדקדוק מסורה, שמחברנו מעבירו תחת שבט ביקרתו. בסופו של העמוד כתוב: „ודע כי השער הראשון שבו דיברנו על סיבות השוא ועשר האותיות כאן הוא מבוא לשער זה והקדמה [לספר כולו]".

דף ב' כולו מוקדש לבירור מלים בנות שתי אותיות וניקודן צירי או סגול, ואלה הן: שֵׁן (סיום), הֵן, לֵךְ, שֶׂה, עֵת, כֵּן, תֵּן, עֵד, שֵׁשׁ. מובן לנו מכל אלה, כי חסרות המלים מסוג זה שקדמו בדף שלפניו. כמו כן חסרות כל המלים בנות שתי אותיות שיש להם שאר התנועות: קמץ־פתח; חולם־קמץ או קמץ קטן.

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5 ZMG עמ' נ': אלדי יסמנורא אלטבראניין [אלמצותאת . . .] . . . ודדר אלשוא לא תבאת מעהם ולא קואם אלא בהדה אלמצותאת.

6 אללמע עמ' 29 שו' 9 11 מסופר שם על מבטא דריש של אנשי טבריה ויה מזכר בספר „כתאב אלמצותאת". עי' אלוני.

מלים ערביות בכתיב מלא: מכאפיף (ד׳, שו׳ 20); מסתאניף, פאציל (ה׳, שו׳ 15); תפציל (ד׳, שו׳ 10); תציל (ד׳, שו׳ 12); חיראב (ד׳, שו׳ 25); לחיק (ה׳, שו׳ 7); כול (ה׳, שו׳ 16); אעדיל (ה׳, שו׳ 14).

אות כפולה במקום תשדיד: יבין (א׳, שו׳ 15); איי (ה׳, שו׳ 14).

יוד כעיצור בצורת אות כפולה: בנייתה (א׳, שו׳ 21).

* מפיק: קאלוהֹ (ב׳, שו׳ 2), ומעל להא סימן: משולש הפוך, שלא נתפרש לי.

תיקונים: שורות בשולים (ב׳, שו׳ 20; ג׳, שו׳ 1; ה׳, שו׳ 25). תיקון מלים בודדות (א׳, שו׳ 5; ב׳, שו׳ 26; ג׳, שו׳ 20; ד׳, שו׳ 4; 7; ה׳, שו׳ 1).

מחיקות (ב׳, שו׳ 14 (?); ג׳, שו׳ 2; ג׳, שו׳ 18).

ברור, כי לפנינו רק קטע קטן מהחיבור. חסר בראשו, באמצעו ובסופו או במלים אחרות, בידינו רק עמוד אחד מפרק ב׳ של חלק א׳ ודף אחד מחלק ב׳ ודף אחד מחלק ג׳, מחיבור גדול ובעל היקף רב (עי׳ להלן).

ב. שם החיבור. השם „סדר הסימנים״ ניתן לחיבור זה על סמך הכותרת בעמוד הראשון של הפרק על התנועות. מסתבר, כי השם היה ערבי, מאחר שהחיבור כולו היה כתוב בערבית־יהודית. הפרק הראשון של החיבור חסר (עי׳ להלן), ואין ספק כי לא היה השם „סדר הסימנים״ שם החיבור כולו. שם זה של החיבור ישמש רק לסימון פירסום זה, עד שיתגלה השם האמיתי של החיבור או יוזהה על־ידי אחד המלומדים.

ג. זמן החיבור. מסתבר, כי זמן החיבור הוא במחצית השנייה של המאה התשיעית או בראשית המאה העשירית. השערה זו מבוססת על תוכן החיבור והשימוש במונחים מתקופה זו. המחבר מעביר תחת שבט ביקרתו את החיבור של משה בן אשר „כתאב אלמצותאת״ ואינו מזכיר מחברים אחרים בשמם ואף לא את אהרן בן אשר. הוא דן על חיבור זה בחיבורו החדש הבא לתקן את חיבור קודמו. השם משה בן אשר בא בצירוף ברכת המתים וזה מוכיח כי נכתב חיבור זה אחרי מותו של משה בן אשר. אולם לא היה זה אלא בדור הסמוך למותו, כי כתב חיבורו לפני שידע חיבורו של אהרן בן אשר. המחבר גם משתמש באוצר המונחים של „כתאב אלמצותאת״: מצותה – מצותאת[4], עלה – עלל, קאים בדאתה. המחבר עדיין מוצא לנחוץ להתוכח על הבנת המושג סמיכות בלשון העברית וזה מוכיח על תקופה קדומה מאד במעבר ממסורה לדקדוק הלשון. המחבר משתייך לבעלי התפיסה של שרשים בני אות אחת, שתי אותיות ושלוש אותיות בשורש, ווהי התפיסה של מחברים לפני חיוג׳ (המחצית השנייה של המאה העשירית).

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* ניקוד ערבי – פתחה: נַיר (נ׳, שו׳ 2, 11); צמה: קֻרי (נ׳, שו׳ 14).
ניקוד ארץ־ישראלי – צירי: אֶלה (ב׳, שו׳ 14).
חילוף פתח בקמץ: כמנהֳ (א׳, שו׳ 8); ואט (ה׳, שו׳ 15).

4 עי׳ הערה 55.

סדר הסימנים

(חיבור קראי בדקדוק המסורה מתקופת משה בן אשר)

מאת

נחמיה אלוני, ירושלים

מבוא

א. תיאור כה"י[1]. מהחיבור שבידינו יש רק חמישה עמודים והוא בצורת קטע גניזה באוסף טיילור־שכטר בספרייה האוניברסיטאית בקמברידג', וסימונו: T-S. Arab. 9/5 נייר. שלושה דפים. הגודל 16:22 ס"מ, והכתוב 14.5:19 ס"מ. כתב רש"י ספרדי. הכתב אינו אחיד ומסתבר בעיני, כי לכל הפחות שתי ידים כתבוהו, דפים א' ו־ב' כתיבת סופר, כתב יפה ותקין, ואילו דף ג' כתב מתלמד, כתב של איש לא רגיל ולא תקין ורבו השיבושים והשגיאות. הקטע נבדק על־ידי בקמברידג' בחודש יולי 1948[2] ומשפטים אחדים הובאו ממנו ברשימותיי. רק אשתקד חזרתי לעיין בו בגלל גילוי דף אחד מן „כתאב אלמצותאת" וזיהוי מחברו[3]. בזכות גילוי זה אף חזרתי לטפל בקטע והוא נמסר לפירסום גם בגלל ערכו העצמי וחשיבותו.

כה"י הוא מהמאה הי'—י"א. הלשון היא ערבית יהודית. הדוגמאות מהמקרא מנוקדות ניקוד וטעמים טברניים. גם מלים ערביות בודדות מנוקדות ניקוד טברני: קאלוּהֿ (ב', שו' 2); קֻרי (ב', שו' 12); נֻקַט (ב', שו' 13); עִרֹץ עַארֹץ (ג', שו' 1); פְּאַי גַיר הֲוָנָא (ג', שו' 2); וְכֻל (ג', שו' 7); מֻלְחַק (ג', שו' 17); מִתְ'ל (ג', שו' 20); אַפְעל (ג', שו' 27).

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[1] במאמר זה אשתמש בקיצורים דלהלן:

אלוני = נ. אלוני, כתאב אלמצותאת למשה בן אשר, לשוננו, כרך כ"ז–כ"ח (תשכ"ד).
באכר = ז. באכר, Anfaenge der hebraeischen Grammatik, לייפציג, 1895.
דקה"ט = אהרן בן אשר, דקדוקי הטעמים מהדורת בר־שטראק, לייפציג, 1879.
ילין, תולדות = ד. ילין, תולדות התפתחות הדקדוק העברי, ירושלים, תש"ה, עמ' 115–130.
מאן = י. מאן, ספר היובל לפאול האופט, לייפציג, 1926, עמ' 437–445.
מצותאת, עי' אלוני.
קלאר = ב. קלאר, בן אשר ירושלים, תש"ג (מחקרים ועיונים, תל־אביב, תשי"ד, עמ' 276–319).
רשימת המונחים = נ. אלוני, רשימת מונחים קראית מהמאה השמינית, ספר הזכרון לקורנגרין תל־אביב, תשכ"ד, עמ' 324–363.
התינאן = מחברת התינאן מהדורת י. דירנבורג, פריס, 1870.
BGT = ז. באכר, Grammatische Terminologie des Hajjug, Wien, 1882.
PGT = ל. פרייס, Grammatische Terminologie des Abraham ibn Ezra, Basel, 1950.
ZMG = ק. לוי, Zur masoretischen Grammatik, שטוטגארט, 1936.

[2] כך רשום במחברות רשימותי מס' 4, עמ' 95.

[3] עי' אלוני.

INDEX TO THE

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUALS

VOLUMES I THROUGH XXXIV

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL

The Lost "Confession" of Samuel (I — 1924).
Pico Della Mirandola (Jubilee Volume — Special, 1925).

AGUS, JACOB B.

The Prophet in Modern Hebrew Literature (XXVIII — 1957).

ALBRIGHT, W. F.

A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm 68) (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).

ALLONY, NEHEMIAH

הפלים הבודדות ב,שאלות עתיקות' (XXX — 1959).

APTOWITZER, V.

Asenath, the Wife of Joseph — a Haggadic, Literary Historical Study (I — 1924).
The Rewarding and Punishing of Animals and Inanimate Objects (III — 1926).
Spuren des Matriarchats im Juedischen Schrifttum (IV — 1927).
Spuren des Matriarchats im Jüdischen Schrifttum — (Schluss) (V — 1928).
Arabisch-Jüdische Schöpfungstheorieen (VI — 1929).
Untersuchungen zur Gaonäischen Literatur (VIII–IX — 1931–32).

ASHTOR-STRAUSS, E.

Saladin and the Jews (XXVII — 1956).

ATLAS, SAMUEL

להתפתחות הסוגיא וההלכה (XVII — 1942–43).
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Maimon and Maimonides (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).
לתולדות הסוגיא (XXIV — 1952–53).
Moses in the Philosophy of Maimonides, Spinoza, and Solomon Maimon (XXV — 1954).
הרצון הציבורי בתחוקה התלמודית (XXVI — 1955).
השגות שהשיג הרב ר' משה הכהן מלוניל על ספרי רבנו משה ז'ל (XXVII — 1956).
Solomon Maimon's Philosophy of Language (XXVIII — 1957).
Solomon Maimon and Spinoza (XXX — 1959).
השגות שהשיג הרב ר' משה הכהן מלוניל על ספרי רבנו משה ז'ל (XXXIV — 1963).

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Judaism in the Church (II — 1925).
Haggadah and Christian Doctrine (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).

BAMBERGER, BERNARD J.

Fear and Love of God in the Old Testament (VI — 1929).
A Messianic Document of the Seventh Century (XV — 1940).
Revelations of Torah after Sinai (XVI — 1941).
Formstecher's History of Judaism (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–51).
Qetanah, Na'arah, Bogereth (XXXII — 1961).

BAMMEL, ERNST

Der Achtundzwanzigste Adar (XXVIII — 1957).

BAUMGARTNER, WALTER

Zur Mandäerfrage (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).

BENAJAHU, MEIR

לתולדות בתי המדרש בירושלים במאה הי"ז (XXI — 1948).

BERNSTEIN, SIMON

The Letters of Rabbi Mahalalel Halelujah of Ancona (VII — 1930).
Luḥot Abanim, Part II (X — 1935).
שרידי שירה מ"תקופת הזוהב" (XVI — 1941).
דיואן שירי הקדש של שלמה בן משלם דפיירא (XIX — 1945-46).
מחברות כלב בן אליהו אפנדופולו הקראי (XXIV — 1952–53).

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Parallelen der Religionsgeschichte (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).

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Early Reform in Contemporaneous Responsa (Jubilee Volume — Special, 1925).
The Sermons of Judah Moscato (VI — 1929).
The Sermons of Azariah Figo (VII — 1930).
The Sermons of Ephraim Luntshitz (VIII–IX — 1931–32).
The Sermons of Jonathan Eybeshitz (X — 1935).
The Sermons of Jacob Anatoli (XI — 1936).
The Sermons of Isaac Arama (XII–XIII — 1937–38).
The Dubno Maggid (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–51).

BLANK, SHELDON H.

The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law (VII — 1930).
A Hebrew Bible Ms. in the Hebrew Union College Library (VIII–IX — 1931–32).
Studies in Post-Exilic Universalism (XI — 1936).
The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature (XII–XIII — 1937–38).
Studies in Deutero-Isaiah (XV — 1940).
The Dissident Laity in Early Judaism (XIX — 1945–46).
The Confessions of Jeremiah and the Meaning of Prayer (XXI — 1948).
The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell, and the Oath (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).
Isaiah 52.5 and the Profanation of the Name (XXV — 1954).
"Doest Thou Well To Be Angry?" (XXVI — 1955).
Traces of Prophetic Agony in Isaiah (XXVII — 1956).
Some Observations Concerning Biblical Prayer (XXXII — 1961).

BLAU, JOSEPH L.
An American-Jewish View of the Evolution Controversy (XX — 1947).

BLAU, LUDWIG
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Early Christian Archaeology from the Jewish Point of View (III — 1926).

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The Poems of Haggai (V — 1928).

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Towards a Study of Maimonides the Educator (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–51).

BOKSER, BEN ZION
Reason and Revelation in the Theology of Maimonides (XX — 1947).

BRILLING, BERNHARD
Eibenschützіana (Die zwei Ausgaben des *Toledoth bne Jehonathan* in ihrer Beziehung zu der Polemik um R. Jonathan Eibenschütz) (XXXIV — 1963).

BUCHANAN, GEORGE WESLEY
Mark 11.15–19: Brigands in the Temple (XXX — 1959).
An Additional Note to "Mark 11.15–19: Brigands in the Temple" (XXXI — 1960).

BUTTENWIESER, MOSES
The Importance of the Tenses for the Interpretation of the Psalms (Jubilee Volume — Special, 1925).
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CHAPMAN, WILLIAM JOHN
The Problem of Inconsequent Post-Dating in II Kings XV.13, 17, and 23 (II — 1925).
Palestinian Chronological Data, 750–700 B. C. (VIII–IX — 1931–32).

COHEN, SIMON
Amos *Was* A Navi (XXXII — 1961).

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Authority in Judaism (XI — 1936).
Original Sin (XXI — 1948).
The Name of God, a Study in Rabbinic Theology (XXIII, Part One — 1950–51).
The Unity of God, A Study in Hellenistic and Rabbinic Theology (XXVI — 1955).
Zunz and Reform Judaism (XXXI — 1960).

COPPENS, J.
Les Psaumes 6 et 41 Dépendent-ils du Livre de Jérémie? (XXXII — 1961).

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The *Me'il Ẓedaḳah* — Second Article (XII–XIII — 1937–38).
The *Me'il Ẓedaḳah* — Third Article (XIV — 1939).
The Gradations of Benevolence (XVI — 1941).
The Social Ideals of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha (XVIII — 1943–44).
New Studies in the Psychology of Judaism (XIX — 1945–46).
The Maimonidean Code of Benevolence (XX — 1947).
Social Thinking in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (XXII — 1949).
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